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THE EVOLUTION OF FRENCH CANADA

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BY
JEAN CHARLEMAGNE BRACQ
LITT.D., LL.D.

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To
SIR ARTHUR CURRIE
WHO, WITH HIS HEROIC CANADIANS,
DELIVERED CAMBRAI,
THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED
BY
A GRATEFUL CAMBRAISIAN.

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INTRODUCTION

THE author, in writing this book, has turned aside from his field of studies in an attempt to do justice to men of French blood in the New World. Distantly acquainted with them for half a century, it is only of late that he has discovered their real worth. He believes that they ought to be better known, and their merits, as a people, recognized. As a son of France and a Protestant, it has been a delicate matter for him to voice this conviction. Accordingly, he has dealt with the philosophical principles underlying the creed of Gallo-Canadians, and not with the tenets of their Church. Great is his admiration for some of their religious leaders and the mass of their religious workers, men and women, animated with the most altruistic principles, though not stated in the terms of his own theology. He was happy to find, on the banks of the St. Lawrence, a people of his own kin who have risen above material conquests and shown that happiness does not consist in what a man has, but in what he is. British writers proclaim that French Canadians have the secret of being contented and happy.

The data of the book, for the period after the Cession, have been mostly derived from English sources. Before that time the writer usually refers to documents not accessible to him, but used by trustworthy writers. For contemporary life, he has drawn largely from oral testimonies, from his visits to schools, colleges, universities, philanthropic and penal institutions. He has talked with French and Anglo-Canadian farmers, politicians, priests, pastors, and people. He has not only seen the natives in their

historic home, in the various colonies of Quebec, but also in their most important settlements westward, where they display their national characteristics. He cannot exaggerate the kindness with which his enquiries were received. He feels particularly indebted to M. Emilien Daoust, of Montreal, for his kind, constant coöperation and help. It would be impossible to mention the names of all those who have given him valuable assistance.

Some Britons, whose course has been a misfortune for British possessions in North America, may appear to have been treated with a certain severity, but the writer amply praises the great work of later comers who have brought to Canada some of their best manhood, their industries, their commerce, their investments, their education and religious spirit. In time to come this selection of Britons will be emphatic in their condemnation of those who, in the past, have wronged the French. The voice of justice has already been heard in valuable books of sons of the conquerors and more will follow. In this work the author has wished to set forth how 65,000 vanquished French colonists, abandoned by France at the Cession, treated unjustly by early English settlers and place-holders, have become a people of over 3,000,000 who have evolved a civilization of their own of singular interest, and this he has attempted to do in the optimistic spirit with which Anglo-Canadians speak of themselves.

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THE EVOLUTION OF FRENCH CANADA

THE EVOLUTION OF FRENCH CANADA

CHAPTER I

THE OLD FRANCE AND THE NEW

MEN belonging to the generation now about to disappear have been profoundly influenced by Comte Joseph de Gobineau,[1] a French nobleman, who shaped the ethnological ideas current in the world of culture half a century ago. He made race the great and fatalistic determinant of life, and gave Bismarck's countrymen the foremost place among the ethnic groups of the world. These teachings, taken up with enthusiasm by Germany, propagated and exploited by her, were soon accepted in this country, where they were principally disseminated by John Fiske, in England by the Arnolds, and in France by Taine. Gobinism became a literary fashion, a world craze. It has far outlived the early generation of men who were its heralds. What use the Germans made of this doctrine is now well known. If they coveted new territories they excused their aggressive action on the ground that the inhabitants were, or were supposed by them to be, Germans.

Carried away by such tenets Macaulay, like many others, drew certain deductions from the doctrine one of which was that the Germanic peoples are Protestant and the Celtic Catholic, and made ethnology and religion inseparable.

[1] 1816-1882.

This assertion is a challenge to good sense and to facts when one reflects that thirty-six per cent of Germans are Catholics; that the most Protestant parts of France are the least Germanic; and that the French cantons of Switzerland are those in which the principles of the Reformation sank the deepest. In the same way many, mostly unconscious Gobinists, have characterised Canada. Disregarding the fact that Anglo-Canadians are as mixed as the most mixed peoples on this continent; that the complexities that are now called *races* are polygenetic; that even the Jews, according to Renan, are not the result of monogenesis; [2] that both France and England are racially most mixed, and in a similar manner and almost in similar proportions,[3] they speak of Canadians, British and French, as two races, contiguous but unchangeable, irreducible—of two permanent languages and two religions hopelessly kept apart by an ethnic fatalism.

The word "race" has been given up by most scientific ethnologists as ambiguous and often inaccurate. Public men of Canada have made reckless use of the word. They speak of an English race, of a Canadian race, of an Irish race, of a Scottish race, of an Acadian race, of a Quebec race, and Benjamin Sulte speaks of a "Trifluvian race," meaning the inhabitants of Three Rivers, though, for the philosopher, they mean, at most, a people. With such conceptions they fail to point out the unconscious *rapprochement* and interpenetration of the two peoples of Canada which have taken place since the Cession in 1763. According to them the French and the British have remained near each other, mutually repellent, fatally separated, unchangeable like iron pyrites or like infusible crystals. Colossal error!

[2] E. Renan, *Discours et Conférences*, p. 341.
[3] *Ibid.*, *Feuilles détachées*, p. 92; John Fiske, *New France and New England*, p. 1.

A fact of great importance is that French Canadians came mostly from the west of France.[4] Dr. Walter Riddell, in his scholarly work, *The Rise of Ecclesiastical Control in Quebec,* leaves the impression, already foreshadowed by Garneau,[5] that immigrants came from every part of France. The fact is, however, that the east and the south sent few emigrants, and that the ancestors of this people came from the strongest and most energetic stock of France, and consequently lack the extreme cheerfulness of the land of the troubadours and the boastfulness of the Gascons. The men of French Canada could most favourably be compared with those of the rural districts of Normandy and Picardy whence their ancestors predominantly came. President Poincaré, looking at Colonel A. Mignault, a French Canadian, said that he looked like a Norman; and La Terrière, nearly a century ago, said that "the resemblance between the interior of a peasant's dwelling in Normandy and on the banks of the St. Lawrence was, to a practical eye, close and remarkable."[6] "In a French [Canadian] parish," said de Molinari, "one feels as he would in a rich village of Normandy."[7] The common people could also be compared favourably with similar social grades in the rural districts of England and Scotland. However, as far as ethnology is concerned, no people of Gallican kinship are more unlike the France of the Great Monarch, or more like contemporary France than the French Canadians of to-day, socially, politically, and religiously. In their upper classes, as well as among the masses, they have evolved into a new nationality, as unlike

[4] Sir J. G. Bourinot, *Canada Under British Rule,* p. 14; Abbé C. Tanguay, *Dictionnaire généalogique des familles canadiennes.*

[5] F. X. Garneau, *Histoire du Canada depuis sa découverte jusqu'a nos jours,* Vol. II, p. 105.

[6] Pierre de Sales La Terrière, Jr., *A Political and Historical Account of Lower Canada,* p. 113.

[7] G. de Molinari, *Lettres sur les États-Unis et le Canada,* p. 132;—*Au Canada,* p. 159.

their progenitors as Americans are unlike the English. This is now indisputable. However, many judgments concerning the French Canadians are untenable. The late Sir A. B. Routhier said: "French Canada was born during the classical age of France, of her power and of her glory." [8] Chronologically this is exact, but organically incorrect. In reality to what extent were the early colonists sharers of the highest life of France? Abbé H. R. Casgrain has idealised Canadian history out of all reality, but his assertions are true if he means that the French Canadians have a French origin. "We have remained a people free from all alloy, homogeneous, brave, and prosperous." [9] Later on he glories in "the purity of our historical origins." [10] Professor Charles W. Colby, one of the most objective historians of Canada, claims that, as the American colonies had some 50,000 immigrants who came from jails with their passage paid, so had French Canada.[11] The same assertion is made by the French historian, Alfred D. De Celles, though he adds that there were none later than 1750.[12] There was a time when great strictness prevailed in the matter of the admission of colonists. A man by the name of Courville was warned to put an end to his attentions to Mademoiselle d'Auteuil, and, upon his refusal to comply with this warning, was confined in jail pending his deportation to France. A nobleman was sent back to La Rochelle for being too attentive to a squaw. In importing wives for settlers two were returned as "undesirables" almost as soon as they landed.[13]

Other writers, perhaps doing the opposite of what they

[8] *Almanach du peuple,* 1916, p. 396.
[9] *Œuvres complètes,* Vol. I, p. 433.
[10] *Ibid.,* p. 495.
[11] *Canadian Types of the Old Régime,* p. 119.
[12] *Canada and Its Provinces,* Vol. XV, p. 53.
[13] *Ibid.,* p. 32.

wished, have spoken of the country as a bit of the France of Louis XIV which has kept most of its former traits. Prince de Beauvau Craon represents them as a survival of old French society, hardly modified, as if it were not a most doubtful compliment.[14] Jean Lionnet, one of a large number of Frenchmen who hold such opinions, says that "they resemble our ancestors more than we do." [15] What ancestors does he mean? Of what time and of what province of France? Principal George Monro Grant, recognising the deep changes among them, says, "Canadian experiences developed in the old French stock new qualities, good and bad, the good predominating." [16] This is also the opinion of the French economist, Gustave de Molinari.[17] We go further and repeat that with them a new nationality was born. With new conditions a new life asserted itself.

French Canadians do not resemble their forbears of the *Grand Siècle* except in certain ways. The history and life of the two countries, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, were dissimilar. The ethnology of the old country was, and remains even to-day, more varied. The people of France had less cohesion and religious unity than Canada, where colonists laid stress upon their national, rather than upon their provincial, traits. A consequence of this was, as a whole, a great unity in their mental, moral, and religious development. The dominant profession, agriculture, helped this. During the reigns of Louis XIII and Louis XIV France had her great thinkers who created a certain ferment of ideas; and, until the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes and thence to the First Empire, the liberals gave rise to an unusual mental activity, not even dreamt of in Canada.

[14] *La Survivance française au Canada*, 1914.
[15] *Chez les Français du Canada*, p. 39.
[16] Rev. George Monro Grant, *Picturesque Canada*, p. 21.
[17] *Lettres sur les Etats-Unis et le Canada*, p. 122.

Think of a France, such as some writers have supposed Canada to be, without her philosophers and moralists to disturb and vivify religious sameness and uniformity—of a France having no Descartes, no Bayle, no Fontenelle, no Montesquieu, no Voltaire, no Encyclopedists to oppose the theocracy of the New World—of a France whose sons did not visit England, hardly learned the English language, or absorbed English ideas, as the people did south of the Channel[18] —of a France for nearly a century cut off from the motherland, not affected by the tragic, but vivifying, French Revolution, or by what Hugo calls "the brutalities of progress"—of a France distant from the great highways of civilization, worried by Indian warfare and by British conflicts, in great poverty, without a printing press, without colonial books, and possessing but a small number of others, away from the wide competition of commerce, without intense professional rivalry. Think of a France with a climate, which, instead of being gentle and benign like that of the old land, leaving man comparatively free, greatly overpowered him—of a France whose religious spirit was shaped by the Ultramontane clergy and not by the Gallican —think of all these facts, and there will stand before the mind a real vision of French Canada as it was three or four score years ago when strong, transforming influences began powerfully to be felt.

While there was a great intellectual differentiation between the progenitors of this people and their descendants, one must remember that the immigrants to Canada, who had a religious and a political purpose in coming, were of more than ordinary moral calibre. The doubtful elements were moralised and gloriously redeemed. Out of six hundred and sixty-four children baptised between 1621 and 1661, inclusive, only one illegitimate child is mentioned. From 1661 to 1690 another such child is recorded.

[18] *Buckle's History of Civilization in England,* Vol. II, p. 214.

In sixty-nine years only two children are reported as born out of lawful wedlock.[19] Divorce was, and still is, unknown. Most of the time great encouragement was given to the increase of population. Both public opinion and institutions favoured large families.[20] Bachelors could not secure a licence for the fur trade, the only lucrative industry of the time, nor for any other favoured colonial service.

The ethics of the colony were severe, not to say ascetic. The first ball in Canada was given by Chartier de Lotbinière, on February 4, 1667. On the next day the Superior of the Jesuits noted the fact in the *Journal des Jésuites,*[21] and added, "God grant that this may not be a precedent" (*ne tire point en conséquence*). A ball by the officers of the Carrigan Regiment was not popular with the clergy.[22] There was a quarrel between Mgr. de Saint Vallier and Count de Frontenac, because the latter wished to have the "Tartufe" of Molière played. It was considered—we know not why—immoral [23] by the clergy and as such was interdicted. For a time the good bishop forbade the Jesuits from giving dramatic representations or literary séances in their schools.[24] Licences for the sale of alcohol were under the direct control of the intendants. No one could play cards or smoke in the saloons.[25] Games were few.

The nobility was not of the highest. "Most of them," says the Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux,[26] "were ruined and almost without resources, and all being soldiers, outside of the adventurers of war, they were unoccupied." A few

[19] Abbé Jean-Baptiste A. Ferland, *Cours d'histoire du Canada,* Vol. II, p. 14.
[20] De Celles, *Canada and Its Provinces,* Vol. XV, p. 51.
[21] February, 1667.
[22] Colby, p. 265.
[23] Casgrain, Vol. I, p. 519.
[24] Mgr. Amédé Gosselin, *L'Instruction sous le régime français,* p. 312; Mgr. Henri Têtu, *Les Evêques de Québec,* p. 119.
[25] Pierre-Georges Roy, *Les petites choses de notre histoire,* Vol. I, p. 136.
[26] *Royal Society of Canada,* III, Vol. VI, p. 163.

departed from the traditions of their caste by indulging in the fur trade,[27] but called themselves "commanders" and not "traders." According to Professor Colby no nobleman of the first rank of wealth and power came to Canada.[28] Had most of them been able financially to reside in Versailles they never would have crossed the ocean. At the time of the Conquest there were only one hundred and fifty of them in the country.[29] Carleton's list gives one hundred and twenty-six in Canada and seventy-nine officers residing in France.[30] Judge Baby reaches about the same quota.[31] There were only thirty-seven seigniorial families reported in 1787.[32]

It must be borne in mind that the seigniors were far from being all nobles and having the spirit of the nobility of France. A German officer, accustomed to European ideas of nobility, says, "The seignior is not ashamed to marry a pretty girl belonging to one of his tenants."[33] In reality they were mostly agents in the settlement of a given territory.[34] If this was an attempt to introduce feudalism it was one of the mildest forms possible. In France the nobles were owners of their fiefs, but here the seigniors were bound to lease their property to others; requiring, however, duties of vassalage reduced to the most elementary requisites. There the corvées were twelve days a year, when they were not more, but in the New World they scarcely exceeded six days. Naturally these men clung to their privileges and endeavoured to increase them. With all their talk of magnanimity most of them displayed considerable venality. They gave undue prominence to petty

[27] A. Mackenzie, *Voyages from Montreal Through the Continent of North America, etc.*, Vol. I, p. 24.
[28] Canadian Types, p. 25.
[29] Cavendish, *Parliamentary Debates*, p. 27.
[30] Bradley, *Lord Dorchester*, p. 27.
[31] *L'Exode des classes dirigeantes lors de la Cession du Canada*, p. 43.
[32] Bradley, *Ibid.*, p. 253.
[33] Stone and Hund, p. 26.
[34] Lemieux, p. 155.

questions of precedence as if they had been vital, such, for instance, as the seat in church of the governor and intendant.[35] At the beginning of the nineteenth century Mme. Taché was all wrought up because one of her tenants had passed her on the road.[36]

Whatever good traits they had the nobles were incapable of those personal efforts which make colonial enterprise successful; and when the ultimate crisis came they were not fit to assume the leadership of their people.[37] However their peculiar spirit tended to develop in the country a select society whose charms and manners exerted a permanent influence.[38] They and the clergy must have credit for the relatively large number of books in the country—large for that period—which now are in the libraries of Laval in Quebec and St. Sulpice in Montreal.[39] One signal advantage of the system, even of its exorbitant dues, of one-twelfth of the sale, for property transfer, is that it tended to bind to their property a somewhat mobile people, and if they did not clear their land it was taken away from them.

This system was good for the times. Lord Durham views it as a mild and just provision for the settlement of a country.[40] On July 2, 1771, the King of England urges the granting of lands according to the old French system.[41] In 1775 instructions from the Colonial office directed that all grants of land within the Province of Quebec, then comprising Upper and Lower Canada, were to be made fief and seigniory; and even the grants to the refugee

[35] P. G. Roy, Vol. I, p. 67.
[36] De Gaspé, *Mémoires,* p. 533.
[37] De Gaspé, *Les anciens Canadiens,* p. 156.
[38] Abbé François Daniel, *Histoire des grandes familles françaises du Canada,* 1867.
[39] A. Fauteux, *Les Bibliothèques canadiennes.*
[40] *The Report of the Earl of Durham, British North America,* p. 32.
[41] Shortt and Doughty, *Documents Relating to the Constitutional History of Canada,* 1759-1818. (Hereafter we shall refer to this precious collection as D. C. H. C.)

loyalists and officers and privates of the colonial corps, promised in 1786, were ordered to be made in the same tenure.[42]

Survivors of the old French upper class and the clergy praised the arrangement.[43] Pierre de Sales La Terrière, Jr., in 1830, tells of a report of the House of Assembly nine years before in which it is asserted that the system secured an equal division of lands more favourable to human happiness, to good morals, to industrious habits, to stabilization of laws, government and military power.[44] This gentleman, however, recognises that both systems have their advantages and disadvantages.[45] The settlers viewed the question differently. When the people of the Saguenay, suffering great distress, asked for lands, they were willing to take them on any condition that the government might propose, but they prayed that they should not be granted on the feudal tenure.[46] The greater part of the peasants who, in 1837, fought at St. Denis and St. Charles, thought that, according to Dr. Robert Nelson, they were striving for the abolition of feudal tenure.[47] The institution cannot have been so injurious, because, when it was redeemed, farmers were, and still are, free to put an end to it by paying a small sum; there are those who never did it.[48] Some seigniors continued to enjoy most of their privileges to the end of their days.[49]

The number of seigniories at the time of the Cession was two hundred and eighteen for the whole province.[50] Francis Masères, a descendant of the Huguenots, quite hostile to the natives, asserts that only "eight or ten of the

[42] Durham, p. 46.
[43] Casgrain, Vol. I, pp. 378, 548, 552.
[44] *A Political and Historical Account of Lower Canada,* pp. 180, 182.
[45] *Ibid.,* p. 191.
[46] Durham, p. 14.
[47] *Ibid.,* p. 13.
[48] Gérin-Lajoie, *Royal Society of Canada,* III, Vol. II, p. 40.
[49] Casgrain, Vol. I, p. 237; De Gaspé, *Les anciens Canadiens,* p. 167.
[50] La Terriére, Jr., p. 260.

seigniors, perhaps twelve, are *noblesse,* according to French ideas." [51] Some of these as well as the officials were quite cultivated and literary.[52] One finds traces of their influence in the spirit and manners of the clergy, among people of the better class and the habitants. Dr. G. W. Parmelee, the scholarly, broad-minded, and fair superintendent of Protestant British education of the province, in his admirable monograph, *Education in the Province of Quebec,*[53] is rather inclined to make this the result of the teaching in the schools. One may ask if, at this point, he has not mistaken an effect for a cause. American and British writers visiting the country a century ago and even before, speak of the lack of education, but almost all are impressed by a certain fineness of manners of the natives. In rural communities, if they are plebeian, they seldom are vulgar. This is entrenched in their social instinct.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier mentioned to the writer the case of an illiterate French Canadian who was the embodiment of graceful and gentlemanly ways. Mr. A. G. Bradley, a most enthusiastic Briton, says, "Politeness is in the habitant's blood, and the manner in which he often accompanies his *bon jour,* by raising his hat to the stranger, might well take away the breath of the American accustomed to the off-hand manner of the Western highway." [54] The refined habits of the seigniors were certainly an object-lesson. Under French rule, as now, the people were kind and humane, not only among themselves, but in their relations with others. Dr. James Douglas, relating the experiences of Rev. John Williams, a New England prisoner among the French, says that the narrative of this Protestant pastor "confirmed the evidence of others that the temper of the colonists, high and low, of New France, was

[51] Cavendish, p. 131.
[52] John Castell Hopkins, *French Canada and the St. Lawrence,* p. 325.
[53] P. 40.
[54] *Canada in the Twentieth Century,* p. 75.

that of kindliness and courtesy." [55] They ransomed New England captives from the Indians.[56]

The curé, the seignior, the militia captain,[57] were important functionaries in every parish.[58] They were powers, repressing, rather than helping, the expansion of energy. Slavery existed in a mild form,[59] though only a few slaves were to be seen at the time of the Cession.[60] The number increased then, but they soon disappeared. There were three hundred and four slaves according to the census of 1804,[61] but owned largely by British traders. The greater number was in Montreal. As early as 1721 they had a postal service.[62] The judiciary was as mixed and as involved as in France, but fairly prompt in its action. Torture was sometimes applied to condemned felons,[63] but reports of British jurists after the cession would indicate a most satisfactory condition. During the discussion in Parliament of the Quebec Act one is impressed by the frequent testimonies to the efficiency of the courts. "Justice was pure under the French régime," said General Carleton. There were no direct taxes except tithes for the support of the Church. They were subjected to military service, to corvées, and to other minor demands.

French colonists were so protected by the King that they were surrounded by numerous impediments. As compared with their neighbours on the south they were treated as children. The decisions of the monarch were capricious, fanciful, and fitful. The men of Versailles, profoundly ignorant of Canadian conditions, wished to administer even

[55] James Douglas, *New England and New France*, 1913.
[56] Charlotte Alice Baker, *True Stories of New England Captives*, pp. 25, 27 and 119.
[57] Often identical with the seignior.
[58] Bourinot, *Canada Under British Rule*, p. 28.
[59] De Gaspé, *Les anciens Canadiens*, p. 173.
[60] Garneau, Vol. II, p. 168.
[61] Garneau, *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 89.
[62] P. G. Roy, Vol. I, p. 121.
[63] *D. C. H. C.*, Vol. I, p. 252; Bourinot, *Canada under British Rule*, p. 30.

the details of the colony's life, as later, for nearly a century, the British attempted to do from London. The royal authority was delegated to practically irresponsible men. Not a single official was accountable to the public. The rulers were the first victims of their system. They were deceived by their courtiers, by informers of all kinds, and their policies lacked continuity. Monopolies were sold. The privileges granted were recalled by messages sent by the next vessel. The seigniors felt this royal action more directly than the people, but in the end it was the people who suffered. All colonial peoples at this time blundered in their new ventures. Spain and Portugal made mistakes. England had to learn valuable lessons from her errors. She changed her policy in Newfoundland; and her attitude in Canada, in 1774, was radically different from that after the Treaty of Paris. The French king learned but very little from his experiences. At last Canada was lost to France, less by the fault of the Canadians than by the corruption at Versailles. However, in the New World, the depravity of Intendant Bigot had so aroused the clergy and called forth such protests that Montcalm advised moderation,[64] yet the people fought for king and country with a courage and a bravery which aroused the admiration of their enemies. When in 1760 Lévis resumed the offensive, one saw upon the battlefields boys of twelve and men of eighty.[65]

Even though now we find the survival of the names of nobles and seigniors, those beginning with the French article *le* or *la* are popular names of soldiers, originally nicknames which displaced the real names. Lebel, Lebeau, Lebon, Ledoux, Letendre, Lemieux, L'Heureux, Lefort, Leguerrier, Lemay, Lejeune, Legros, are on the whole flattering. Names of colours are numerous, Leblanc, Lebleu, Leblond, Lebrun, Legris, Levert, Lenoir, Leclaire almost

[64] Hopkins, *French Canada, etc.*, p. 285.
[65] Ferland, *Cours d'histoire du Canada*, Vol. I, p. 586.

represent the complete prism of colours. Professional names abound, Leclerc, Lecavalier, Lechasseur, Leduc, Lepage, Lemaire, Lemarchand, Letourneur, Lemoine. Those of animals have representatives, Labaleine, Lebœuf, Lecocq, Lebouc, and Lelièvre. Lefoyer, Lepain, Levin, Laframboise have a domestic suggestiveness as well as Lecompte. Leborgne doubtless recalls a misfortune and seems cruel, but there is a cheerful, optimistic spirit in Lajoie, Surprenant, Beauparlant, Belhumeur, Labonté, Lajeunesse, Latendresse, Ladouceur, Lespérance, Lafleur, Larose, Latulipe, Lalumière, Laflamme and Laflèche. The satirical spirit of French Canadians has survived in Lelacheur, Lamalice, Lemarbre, Ladébauche, Sansregret, Ladéroute, Sansoucis, Sansquartier. At the Superior School of Pharmacy of Montreal, a few years ago, the three principal officers were Contant, Lachance and Vadeboncœur.[66] Marshal Fayolle mentions a most charming lady of the name of Jollicœur. As a whole these names are indices of a bright, sunny spirit.

The handful of Canadians at the Conquest are now represented by 3,000,000 descendants.[66a] According to Abbé Casgrain they have doubled their number in twenty-eight years.[67] Desrosiers and Fournet set this gain at thirty years.[68] From 1784 to 1841 they increased 200 per cent.[69] This prolificacy sounds like a romance. Montcalm wrote that a soldier of his army had 250 descendants.[70] At the time of his death M. de Gaspé had 115 children and grandchildren.[71] Gérin-Lajoie speaks of his grandfather, Gélinas, who, dying in 1852, at the age of eighty-eight, had 150 children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren. The grandfather of Cardinal Bégin, at his death, had 324 direct

[66] Louis Arnould, *Nos Amis les Canadiens*, 1913, p. 41.
[66a] Not counting those of the United States.
[67] Vol. I, p. 449.
[68] *La Race française en Amérique*, 1911, p. 16. [69] *Ibid.*, p. 79.
[70] Ferland, Vol. I, p. 50. [71] Casgrain, Vol. II, p. 289.

descendants.[72] Prime Minister Ouimet was the twenty-fifth child in his family. Abbé Camille Roy, whom we are to quote often, is one of a family of twenty.[73] Chanoine Emile Chartier, vice-rector of the University of Montreal, says that his family was one of four successive generations with seventeen children each.

A consequence of this large descent, from a limited number of genealogical sources, is the numerous names that are the same in one, or even in all, professions. Thus, among 5,681 priests, monks, and friars, we counted twelve each of Simard, Poirier, and Labelle; fourteen each of the names of Michaux, Lemieux, and Leclerc; seventeen of the name of Desjardins; twenty Morins; twenty-one Gagnons; thirty Gauthiers; thirty-two Côtés; thirty-three Tremblays; forty Roys and Pelletiers.[74] At times one finds an exceptional group of men of the same name in important service. Thus in 1908 Sir Alphonse Pelletier was lieutenant-governor of the province, Lieutenant-Colonel Dr. P. Pelletier was provincial commissary in London. Colonel Oscar Pelletier, son of Sir Alphonse, was commander of the fifth military division, and Major Victor Pelletier, nephew of Sir Alphonse, was aide-de-camp of the lieutenant-governor. Dr. Antonio Pelletier, physician and poet, belonged to the *école littéraire* of Montreal. A little later Mgr. François P. A. Pelletier was rector of Laval University. There are villages in which one hundred families have the same name.[75]

In a charming little volume of autobiographic studies M. G. E. Marquis tells us that there hung from a nail in the attic of his home a swing for babies. "I have not seen it there frequently, for, with us, let it be said in passing, domestic nativities were often, and in all seasons added to liturgical Christmases as in most French homes. . . . Thus

[72] *Au Canada*, p. 32.
[73] Beckles Willson, *Quebec: the Laurentian Province*, 1912.
[74] *Le Canada ecclésiastique*, 1919, pp. 415, 496.
[75] *Au Canada*, p. 156.

in the space of twenty-four years it has been seen no less than twelve times joyously taking again its post of honour attached to the square beams of the kitchen."[76] Judge Adjutor Rivard, in a series of fascinating, simple rural pictures of signal beauty, portrays a personage who, when a neighbour takes a baby to church to be christened, says, "It is Benjamin who once more has a baptism. He will soon have a whole parish in his house."[77] Children are numerous. but nowhere are they more welcome. We have known a family of twenty-six children. One of the bishops of Portland, Maine, stated that he had in his diocese one of twenty-seven. Mgr. Landrieux, bishop of Dijon, France, mentioned a family of thirty-one[78] near Three Rivers, canada. Prime Minister Taschereau stated that he had been told that one of his ancestors had thirty-six children.[79]

Some years ago the government of Quebec granted one hundred acres of land to every man who was the father of twelve living children. In less than a year over 3,000 persons availed themselves of this privilege.[80] In 1907 there was published a list of 7,000 families having at least twelve living children.[81] With the exception of Rumania Quebec has the highest birth-rate of any part of the world. It was 38.1 per thousand in 1911; in the town of Sorel, 46.63; and in Chicoutimi, 69.24.[82] Ontario shows a birth-rate of 24; Nova Scotia, 25.[83] Mr. Arthur Hawkes states that during the last census period "the Nova Scotia French increased at double the rate of the English. In Prince Edward Island the French declined only half as fast as the English-speaking natives. In New Brunswick the Eng-

[76] *Aux Sources canadiennes*, p. 13.
[77] *Chez nos Gens*, p. 23.
[78] *Au Canada*, p. 32.
[79] *L'habitant de Québec*, p. 14.
[80] De Celles, *Canada and Its Provinces*, Vol. XV, p. 200.
[81] *Le Canada ecclésiastique*, 1920, p. 48.
[82] *Statistical Year-Book*, 1917, p. 78.
[83] William Henry Moore, *The Clash*, p. 214.

lish lost eight thousand, the French gained nineteen thousand, and became twenty-five per cent of the whole. If the English had done as well as the French they would have increased sixty thousand." [84] Notwithstanding the disadvantages of their climate the Gallo-French have the largest proportional survival in the world. Birth-rate and survival are phenomenal.

[84] *The Birthright*, p. 48.

CHAPTER II

THEOCRATIC FORMATION OF FRENCH CANADA

THE dominant aim of the French in North America, at the outset, was not material gain, but the welfare of the red men—to educate, to Christianize, and to save them. Jacques Cartier, whom Mr. Stephen Leacock rightly calls "the daring adventurer, with nothing of the dark cruelty by which such daring was often disfigured," [1] reaching Hochelaga, acts more like a missionary than a discoverer. "Our captain," he said, "seeing the misery and devotion of this poor people, recited the Gospel of St. John; that is to say, '*In the beginning was the Word,*' touching every one that was diseased, praying God that it would please Him to open the hearts of the poor people and to make them know His Holy Word, and that they might receive baptism and christendom." [2] Champlain, inspired with the same spirit, said, "The salvation of a soul is more important than the conquest of an empire; and Kings must not think of extending their dominion over countries in which idolatry reigns, except to submit them to Jesus Christ."

It is impossible to exaggerate the deep religious interest of Antoinette Pons, of the wife of Champlain, of the Duchesse d'Aiguillon, of Mme. de la Peltrie, of Marguerite Bourgeoys, of Mlle. Mance, of Mme. de Bullion, women of France who, when Protestants were, as yet, largely indifferent to missions, made the greatest possible sacrifices for the establishment of Christianity in North America. No one can praise, adequately, the faith and courage of de

[1] *The Mariner of St. Malo*, p. 112. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 77.

Maisonneuve who, when urged, on account of the Indians, not to go to the place where the most important city of Canada now lies, answered, "I will settle in Montreal, even if every tree from here to there were an Iroquois." Christian heroism reached its highest point with the labours of the Jesuits, Jogues, Daniel Brébeuf, Lalemant, Garnier, Chabanel, and Buteux, who, after giving their days, sacrificed their lives, and died martyrs. Garneau shows them with "a breviary hung round their neck, a cross in their hand, often going much further than the most intrepid travelers." [3] Speaking of these new apostles of Christ Principal G. M. Grant says, "Magnificent missionaries these first Jesuits were; more devoted men never lived. . . . What Livingstone did in South Africa when he cut himself loose from all the other missionaries who kept within the reach of the comforts of the colony, and plunged into the thick of the native tribes beyond; what the Canadian missionary, Mackay, did eight years ago in Formosa with such brilliant success, the Jesuits always did." [4] Theirs was an absolute surrender of selfhood.

Mr. William H. Moore, in *The Clash,* paid the following tribute to these magnanimous heroes: "Between 1615, when Lecaron first visited Georgian Bay, and 1650, when the dispersion of the Hurons was complete, twenty-nine missionaries laboured among the Hurons; and of these seven had suffered violent deaths." [5] Their missionaries "gave to the world an imperishable example of devotion and sacrifice." [6] Because of their heroism and service the clergy received from the king, 2,096,734 acres of land of which 891,845, owned by the Jesuits, reverted to the public domain,[7] but even at the time these grants were small as compared with the gifts made later by the British administration to British favourites. Furthermore, at the time,

[3] Vol. I, p. 223.
[4] *Picturesque Canada,* p. 13.
[5] *The Clash,* p. 54.
[6] *Ibid.,* p. 53.
[7] Douglas, p. 512

the French gifts had but little value. The secular clergy endured great hardships, and displayed an all-absorbing, apostolic zeal. Father Morel had a parish eighty-one miles long with something like three hundred members.[8] Priests lived in constant danger as they visited their parishioners along the St. Lawrence; obliged to cross the river in all kinds of weather, in unsafe craft, or upon the ice, or to travel through roadless forests. In the early days the heroic note was constant among laymen as well as among clergy. "No greater heroism," says, again, the author of *The Clash,* "is recorded, in the wonderful pages of Greek history, than the action of Dollard and his handful of French Canadians who went, at Long Sault, to certain destruction by a horde of savages, that the colony might be saved. But that is only one of the many instances of self-sacrifice in the days of the old régime." [9] Self-abnegation was a salient characteristic.

British writers have recognised the difference between the aims of the French and those of the British colonists. Professor Percy Evans Lewin, librarian of the Colonial Institute, London, has shown this in a signal manner. "The contrast," he says, "between the methods of the English and the French in America is remarkable. The English colonists were content to occupy the coastal districts, trading, colonising, and consolidating their position on the eastern littoral. Missionary enterprise did not appeal to the bulk of the English clergy and ministers. The Indian tribes, although brought under the sway of the English, were left severely alone, and little attempt was made to introduce amongst them the blessings of Christianity, whilst the French were opening new territories and were gradually working their way into the interior of America, conciliating the Indian tribes and bringing them under their

[8] Colby, p. 287.
[9] *The Clash,* p. 57.

influence, the English remained comparatively indifferent both to geographical and religious enterprise." [10] American writers are at one with this British scholar.

Dr. James Douglas says: "The New England Church made a half-hearted effort to civilize and Christianize the few Indians within their own towns, but neither the Government nor the Church ever contemplated a competition with the French in efforts to spread Christianity over the continent." [11] John Fiske has laid stress upon the character of the expansions of the two peoples: "The New England colonies were more than twenty times as populous as Canada, yet their furthest inland reach was to the shores of the Connecticut River at Deerfield and Hadley, while French outposts were more than a thousand miles from the Atlantic." [12] The ideals of the French missionaries were foremost, and Canada was regarded as a mission rather than as a colony. If the fur traders allowed religious interests to lag they were at once accused of neglecting their duty. For the clergy the great goal was to win the Indians.

Francis Parkman has admirably grasped the great synthetic purpose of the missionaries. "These sanguinary hordes, weaned from intestine strife, were to unite in a common allegiance to God and to the King. Mingled with the French traders and settlers, softened by French manners, guided by French priests, ruled by French officers, their now divided bands would become the constituents of a vast wilderness empire which in time might span the continent. Spanish civilisation crushed the Indian; English civilisation scorned and neglected him; French civilisation embraced and cherished him." [13] According to the same writer French activities were a long devotion to the na-

[10] H. J. Boam, *Twentieth Century Impressions of Canada,* p. 37. See also Mrs. Jameson, *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada,* Vol. II, p 218.

[11] Douglas, p. 513. [12] *New France and New England,* p. 104.

[13] *France and England in North America,* p. 44.

tives. "Peaceful, benign, and beneficent were the arms of her conquest. France endeavoured to subject not by the sword, but by the cross; she aspired not to crush and destroy the nations she invaded but to convert them in her bosom as her children." [14]

The fact that Frontenac condemned two Indians to be burned as retaliation, and that this act was repeated,[15] does not militate against the generalisation of the American historian. They were so treated that for them the word "Frenchman" meant "friend." [16] Forty years after the Conquest, notwithstanding the large sums devoted to conciliate them, Isaac Weld tells us that "an Indian at this day will always go to the house of a poor French farmer in preference to that of Englishmen." [17] This affection is so strong that Alexander Henry dresses like a Frenchman, and claims to be one so as to get along, and even to save his life.[18] John Palmer, a little later, is impressed by the same fact,[19] and so are other travellers.

Another aim of the missionaries was to create a new France on this side of the Atlantic, but one in which the Indians would continue to abide, as in the past. Garneau laments the exclusion of the Huguenots. "Of what great advantage," he says, "would not have been that emigration in masses of men, rich, enlightened, and industrious, to people the banks of the St. Lawrence or the fertile plains of the west? At least they would not have carried to foreign lands the secret of the arts of France and we, French Canadians, would not be compelled to defend, foot

[14] *Pioneers*, Vol. II, p. 318.
[15] P. G. Roy, Vol. I, pp. 65, 68.
[16] Abbé G. Dugas, *Un Voyageur au pays d'En-Haut*, p. 22.
[17] *Travels Through the States of North America and the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada During the Years 1795, 1796, and 1797*, Vol. II, p. 25.
[18] *Travels and Adventures in Canada and the Indian Territories, 1760-76*, p. 34.
[19] *Journal of Travels in the United States and in Lower Canada in 1817*, p. 218.

by foot, against a foreign race our language, our laws, and our nationality." [20] The presence of Protestants, Jews, and even Free-Thinkers would have been beneficent for the established Church itself. Instead of having now 3,000,000 adherents, it might have ten times that number. In any case, Catholicism is nowhere so living and so really energetic as in Protestant countries. Exclusion of Non-conformists, in all lands, has always been injurious in the end not only to the general life but even to the favoured religious body.

A man who exerted an overwhelming influence was François de Laval, first bishop of the colony, who, besides his great religious activity, played an important part in the administration of the country, *faisant et défaisant les gouverneurs à son gré*.[21] As a pupil of the Jesuits he wished to transform all his clergy into a passive militia, "obeying their chief as the Jesuits do their general." It is almost impossible to be more consecrated to one's task than he was. Aristocratic prestige, honour, wealth, his indefatigable will, were placed at the service of the Church, of France, and of God. His courage never failed in great moral issues. Professor Skelton calls him America's first prohibitionist.[22] He bravely fought, as Catholic missionaries did later on, the sale of alcohol to the Indians. He fought, also, unscrupulous traders, as well as the debauchery of the fur trade.[23] He was eminently constructive, he founded the seminary at Quebec which became endowed by the king as well as by himself. He did more than any other man in Canada for education. He established the Petty Seminary, and while we are not going so far, as some have in speaking of St. Joachim as "the first technical

[20] Vol. I, p. 250.
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 175.
[22] Oscar Douglas Skelton, *Life and Letters of Sir Wilfrid Laurier*, Vol. I, p. 16.
[23] G. Myers, *History of Canadian Wealth*, p. 7; Mgr. Henri Têtu, p. 146.

school on the continent," [24] it was a summer school which reflected great credit upon its founder.

It is of this man that Goldwin Smith wrote: "This prelate, whose name is still great in French Canada and is borne by the Laval University, was the paragon of asceticism in his day. He lay on a bed full of vermin; he ate tainted meat; the wonder is that he escaped canonization." [25] It is refreshing, after this, to turn to Dr. Douglas when he speaks of one of the institutions associated in a very particular manner with the life of the illustrious bishop: "The seminary of Quebec has remained the corner-stone of the Roman Catholic Church of Canada. The priest still returns to it as to his home, and the provision to keep up a systematic correspondence with the bishop is maintained. In the bishop's palace there is a large library of bound volumes of manuscript consisting in great part of such letters and containing invaluable records, bearing primarily on ecclesiastical affairs, but incidentally on the social and political history of New France during the past two centuries and a half." [26] The educational work of the Quebec Seminary has been most important. To Mgr. de St. Vallier, the second bishop of the colony, French Canadians owe the foundation of the General Hospital of Quebec and the organisation of the secular clergy.[27]

It was the good fortune of the French Canadians to have the Sulpicians play a large part in the religious history of the land. They settled in Montreal in 1657.[28] These wonderful men do not form a monastic order; they are a society of secular priests who make no vows.[29] Though diminished in number at the time of the Cession they became more numerous in the days of the French Revolution. They were as earnest as the Jesuits, their competitors, and, at times,

[24] Douglas, p. 385.
[25] *Canada and the Canadian Question*, p. 73.
[26] Douglas, p. 385.
[27] Casgrain, Vol. I, p. 517.
[28] *Le Canada ecclésiastique*, 1918, p. 399.
[29] Colby, p. 110.

their opponents, but gentler, franker, larger in their Christian spirit and less abstract in their ideas—above all, humble and refined gentlemen. This made them supremely loved and everywhere they are spoken of as *Les Messieurs de St. Sulpice.* One cannot represent them more beautifully than Renan did their brethren of France. He knew their worth.[30] Earnest, learned, though within a limited range, they gave in their education a larger place to reason, defended its rights, and had a greater respect than their colleagues for personal and institutional independence. There was also a vague, lingering remnant of Gallicanism about them which has disappeared, while the other clergy pushed the Church towards ultramontanism. In 1657 Canada was placed directly under the rule of the Vatican, and thereby withdrawn from the State-Church administration of Louis XIV.[31] As seigniors of Montreal the Sulpicians possessed large properties. These came to have a great value, but, economically strict with themselves, they have been sublimely generous in using this wealth for others. They recently gave $1,000,000 to the University of Montreal.[32] To them *Les Dames de la Congrégation* owe the beautiful site of their monastery in Sherbrooke street, and numerous organizations have been started or helped by their benevolence.

There are, apart from those mentioned, some twenty-five orders of men devoted to all kinds of good works, each with its own peculiar functions, its own characteristics and discipline, but all the members have made a complete surrender of selfhood. According to their theology the universe is a mass of contingencies subjected to the will of God, who uses them in answer to prayers. The idea of a world of laws embodying God's ways of working does not enter into

[30] *Recollections of My Youth,* p. 166.
[31] Garneau, Vol. I, p. 173; Colby, pp. 272, 286.
[32] *Université de Montréal, Annaire 1922-1923,* p. 218.

their minds. Still, among them, there are various views of divine action. In their variations they suggest those of Protestant denominations, looking each after its own interests, while at one in supporting the fundamental aims of the Church. Their activities are as varied as the needs of life. They are devoted to schools, agriculture, charities, hospital service, and missions. A regiment of 648 monks and 2,670 friars push forward this great collective work. These monastics are more absolute in their demands upon faith, but scarcely more than the minority of extreme dogmatic Protestant ministers. The monks and friars endeavour to organise their adherents into a militant body and help laymen to fight the good fight. Jesuits are foremost in this with their revivals in the spirit of Loyola's *Exercitia Spiritualia*. Their devotion and sacrifice are above praise.

We must speak in a similar way of the ministry of the Sisters who left their beloved France, crossed the ocean when it was ten times wider than now, twenty times more dangerous, and came hither to serve God in a most difficult field. It is impossible to exaggerate their heroism or that of the daughters of the soil who followed. More compassionate than the good Samaritan, endowed, not with the pity of a moment, but with the spirit of sacrifice of a whole life, they call forth our admiration. Dr. Douglas was right when he asserted that the Catholic life of Quebec, at the outset, made a larger place for the education of women than that of the Puritans.[33] The Ursulines in Quebec began their work, really, in the early hours of the colony,[34] and kept on through great calamities—the fires that destroyed their establishments, the Indian troubles, and the English Conquest. They largely educated, and still do, the upper class of the city of Quebec. In some

[33] *New England and New France*, p. 361.
[34] *The Ursulines of Quebec.* Josephine Holmes, *Glimpses of the Monastery.*

ways the heroic note was most striking in the great work of Marguerite Bourgeoys and the admirable congregation which she founded, and which remains the most able and progressive institution of the kind in Canada, *Les Dames de la Congrégation.*

From the foundation of the Hôtel-Dieu of Quebec, in 1637,[35] and that of the Hôtel-Dieu of Montreal, in 1642,[36] there has been a great development of all forms of charity and ministrations to human life. In another chapter,[37] these vast philanthropic labours are described. More than twenty-five Orders are active in this domain for the helpless, the sick, and the incurable. As has been stated, each organization has its own definite work which now and then overlaps that of another Sisterhood, but the authorities prevent friction. Even the Orders, meaning at first to do charity work only, have been compelled by circumstances to do some teaching, and there is a certain form of education which radiates from all these works, but one extremely conservative. The friars teach their pupils the ethics of St. Paul for men, and the Sisters, in a similar way, insist upon the complete subordination of woman to man. Much has been said by Protestants unfavourable to the monastic life of these noble women, but is not their service as praiseworthy as that of many unmarried women among us? Does it not give them as much serenity of life and contentment? They keep burning the flame of unselfish devotion.

New Englanders had a narrow range of religious vision, but they thought for themselves, discussed freely among themselves and with their clergymen. They were more philosophical. At the time of the Cession there were forty Americans to one French Canadian.[38] There is a mental stimulus in numbers. In the province, except with clergy-

[35] Abbé H. R. Casgrain, *Histoire de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Québec.*

[36] "Vie de Mademoiselle Mance." M. E. L. Launay, *Histoire des religieuses hospitalières.*

[37] See Chapter XXIII.

[38] Colby, p. 41.

men and the upper class, the intellectual life was almost null and dull. Most of the learning remained the exclusive possession of the clergy. Their virtues kept them close to the heart of the people whose minds were steadily filled with admiration for the past. They were urged to imitate the fathers, thereby keeping up and deepening their devotion to changelessness and fixity, clinging to the *statu quo*. Thus Garneau, forgetting that the same thing exists in parts of the United States and of Europe, erroneously ascribes the "apparent immobility" of French Canadians to their monarchical habits, and their special situation as a distinct race in North America." [39]

The cause lies deeper and is to be found in the underlying philosophy, which is also that of some Protestants, that Christian fundamental principles are like those of mathematics, immutable and eternal. In France these principles were challenged, though even there it was twenty-five years before the Treaty of Paris, in 1738, that the word "progress," like the idea of progress, appeared in literature.[40] In Canada it came in sight a century later, by infiltrations, or was forced by external influences, and, even now, it is far from being the vital impulse of the French priests. New England theology was stiff, hard, and inflexible, but freedom of speech and a little liberty of thought ultimately determined a current of progressive ideas. With French Canadians and their close logic, the idea of unchangeableness was crystallized in the popular consciousness as an ideal. Aiming at stability they attained only immobility. It was in the nature of things that religious leaders should give colonists a real dread of new paths. Hence came their dominant conservatism.

This was intensified by the peculiar sociological morphol-

[39] Casgrain, Vol. II, p. 28.
[40] F. Brunetière, *Manuel de l'Histoire de la littérature française*, p. 208.

ogy of the people imported from France. After the evils from which that country suffered during the last days of feudalism, the Renaissance and the wars of religion, there was a universal wish for stability which led to the creation of a perfect philosophy of fixity. The king was absolute, the Church, hostile to all dissidence, boasted of her *eadem semper*. The Huguenots were, perhaps, even more emphatic upon that point than Catholics, and so were the Hebrews. The nobles maintained, almost by force, changeless ownership; the philosophy of Descartes was inflexible and unchangeable like the science which inspired it; dialects were preserved; language was subjected to the authority of the French Academy which, in the purpose of Richelieu, was to be a lingualistic police. Its president was, and is still, called "perpetual secretary." Commerce and industry were bound by the rules of the Guilds. Everywhere were visible efforts to buttress this social structure against change. Utopian writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries praised the permanent division of classes, their continuance, and even wished to have them distinguished from one another by their costumes. The realisation of this social ideal would give peace and happiness, they said. This social formation, or stratification, was introduced into Canada with moderation. Heriot was impressed by the presence of four classes in 1809. These were kept up largely by the influence of the seignior, the militia captain, and the priests. The erroneous references of Durham and many others to this social state as a sign of decay, of lifelessness, was the realisation of an ideal, an ideal which for a time had its *raison d'être*, a mistaken ideal, but ethically an ideal.

Thus, leaving out all questions of religious doctrines of the Church, her peculiar creed, and her cults, one finds at the very root of French Canadian thought the same conceptions of fixity which has so potently affected their

sensibilities, their volitions, their acts, and their persons. Their angle of vision rests upon an immovably fixed point in the infinite. To use Carlyle's words, in another connection, they lie "at anchour in the stream of time." They completely disregard the universal flux of men and philosophies, the mighty and related currents of life, and the transformations of the vital impulse which moves the world. No one among the priests is known as holding to the doctrine of evolution, and many of them are fighting it. In keeping with this the great duty of man is not initiative, a march onward, and enterprise, but imitation, resignation, and obedience to the priests of God. The will is not urged to discover new possibilities of life and to make the best use of them. They discourage new departures. An old French Canadian farmer told the writer that as a young man he had tried to cut wheat with his scythe instead of with a sickle, but the head of the family rebuked him, saying that he ought to be ashamed to think that he could do better than his father.

This conception leads them, naturally, to dwell upon parental antecedents, and favours communion with the departed. Until recently *Le Canada ecclésiastique*, a year-book for the clergy, mentioned not only the living priests in the parish, but also those who had died. This may be said, as well, of the published statistics of the Orders. Similarly in university catalogues deceased professors are mentioned after the present incumbents. There is something touching in their constant visits to the burying-grounds after church services and in their long and constant remembrance of the dead. Equally significant is a bit of common dialogue reported by Professor Louis Arnould who came from France as a professor in Montreal University: "How many children are there in your family?" "Nine living and three dead." "And in yours?" "Twelve living and four dead." The departed are still considered in the

family.[41] There we have a characteristic difference between them and the Anglo-Canadians. Speaking for the latter, Mr. Arthur Hawkes says, "They think more of the future of their children than of the past of their grandparents." [42]

Almost all the strictly religious publications praise mediæval virtues and the good old times and look to the past as an ideal. A virtual autobiography by Abbé Lionel Adolphe Groulx, *Les Rapaillages,* throws a golden haze over former days that are better than these. In it not a word pointing out the progress made or urging the importance of it. The same thing is true of Judge Adjutor Rivard's charming book, *Chez nos Gens,* and G. E. Marquis' *Aux Souvenirs Canadians,* looking backward. A much advertised little monograph by a Franciscan friar, Frère Gilles, *Les Choses qui s'en vont,* is filled with sentimental regrets that the spinning-wheel, the hand-loom, the love of the land, the old-fashioned dairy, windmills, the flail, the grain-sifter, and many other former things are going. The chaplain of a society of French Canadians, attending a convention in Chicoutimi, writes as follows: "The habitants of the Lac St. Jean keep up the customs of the ancestors, while remaining in touch with modern progress. The telephone, the aqueduct, the auto . . . have not succeeded in driving out of the dwellings the spinning-wheel, the hand-loom, the pictures of the Sacred Heart above the entrance door and many children." [43] Now let it be said that this is not the ideal of the people at large, but it represents the spirit of most monastics and of a large part of the secular clergy.

The priests are worthy men. Their heroism in the past was of the highest type, and even now it is worthy of

[41] *Nos amis les Canadiens,* p. 45. [42] *The Birthright,* p. 88.
[43] *Le Bien Public,* July 24, 1919.

praise. No church can show a higher record of devotion and service. Their activities, on the emotional side, appeal to the popular mind and touch the masses. The parental attitude of the secular clergy has cultivated an affectionate confidence and subordination. In reading records one is astonished at the personal sacrifice of some of the priests. Most of the colleges of the province were founded by them. A goodly number of self-made men were encouraged or supported in their education by their isolated parish pastors. It is the sense that the clergymen are their best friends and are worthy of their confidence and admiration which has given them such power. It is "as intelligent, industrious, honourable a priesthood," says Beckles Willson, "as can be found anywhere in the world." [44] Hence their followers are not held by fear. "No clergy in the world," says Dr. Douglas, "stand in as close a relation to their flocks, without being in familiar contact with them, as the French priests of Quebec." [45] Over this is the control of the hierarchy.

Dr. W. A. Riddell, Superintendent of Trades and Labour, Department of Public Works, of the Ontario Government, in his suggestive book, *The Rise of Ecclesiastical Control of Quebec,* written from a sociological point of view, ascribes the great French Canadian ecclesiastical power to demographic factors, creating race homogeneity in the population and also social and moral solidarity.[46] This was helped by the predominance of agriculture, by the unity of language, by the isolated parish life, by uniform sources of subsistence,[47] by the abundant resources of the Church,[48] by the exclusion of Protestants, by the transfer of control from Gallican France to Ultramontane Rome,[49] by the attempt of the Church of England to be

[44] *Quebec,* p. 90. [45] *New England and New France,* p. 90.
[46] *The Rise of Ecclesiastical Control of Quebec,* p. 39.
[47] *Ibid.,* p. 63. [48] *Ibid.,* p. 70. [49] *Ibid.,* p. 77.

the state church,[50] by English Protestant schools,[51] and by the refusal of Great Britain to admit the clergy of France to the country, thereby cutting the last ties of Gallicanism. He does not mention, by the side of this, the social structure imported from France, a structure in which there was already a potential, nay, an effective ecclesiastic control, the influence of the intolerant action of early British settlers who urged that French Catholics be subjected to the *Test Act*, or "oath of supremacy," the interference of the authorities with the rights of Catholics, the introduction of English law, the ostracism by many of everything that was French, the violent spirit of Orangemen as well as that of other extreme Protestants, or the exclusion of Catholic natives from civil positions to which they were entitled. Above all, he forgets the personal attraction of the clergy, the popular feeling that "a priest," to use Henri Perreyve's words, "is a man, created and put into the world for others" and that his office is divine. His book is a very important contribution to the religious study of French Canada.

The material end in the life of the people was to provide for their immediate wants. The lack of roads and markets prevented the distribution of their produce. Their ignorance of the fundamental principles of agriculture and their routine soon exhausted the soil.[52] The outcome was poverty in one of the most fertile lands of the world. French Canadians were not alone in this. Lord Durham, speaking of the maritime provinces, says, "Their scanty population exhibits, in most portions of them, an aspect of poverty, backwardness, and stagnation." [53] It may be doubted if conditions in New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Nova Scotia were better than in this province.

[50] *The Rise of Ecclesiastical Control of Quebec*, p. 85. [51] *Ibid.*, p. 90.
[52] Lareau, *Mélanges historiques et littéraires*, Montreal, 1877, p. 339.
[53] *Report*, p. 142.

Here men of all conditions have a practical idealism setting spiritual attainments above every other, which makes them exceptional. M. Bourassa has said, "They believe in their superior virtue and the superior ideals of their own people." They are repelled by the "rude, dollar-seeking Philistinism of the Yankee and his Canadian imitator and they are proud of their own people." [54] Above all their material, industrial, social, educational, artistic and even philanthropic acquisitions they proudly place their religious records. The same writer again says, "The little province of Quebec furnished more priests, more nuns, more colleges, more hospitals, more centres of faith and abnegation than all the rest of Catholic Canada." Obviously religion descends lower amongst them, penetrates more deeply their society and makes French Canadians in their own way a God-serving people.

[54] Quoted by Willson, *Quebec, etc.*, p. 30.

CHAPTER III

ECONOMIC CAUSES OF BRITISH ASCENDENCY

THE Anglo-Canadians who discuss—those that do—their relative place in the Dominion seldom hesitate to affirm their individual and national superiority over French Canadians. Uttered or unuttered, that thought ever asserts itself, either in their talk or by their silence. Some of these men hint, others declare openly, that their fellow French subjects stand in a hopeless inferiority to them. Now, is it not worth while to enquire into the principal cause of the preponderance of which Anglo-Canadians are so proud? Is it the result of their ethnological capacities, or do the great opportunities vouchsafed to them, their political favours, the munificent gifts of the motherland, explain their achievements? Do not the peculiar character of the Conquest, and, for a long time, the rule of the British, for the British, largely account for their signal position?

When English colonists arrived, on the morrow of the Conquest, much pioneer work had been done. Food could be had easily. Fuel was available, homes of a better sort were within the reach of the new settlers. For a long time French axmen and toilers did the hard and often the dangerous work for the common life. The new-comers had all possible advantages. They were provided with tools of all sorts for the work they wished to do.[1] As compared with the natives, they had plenty of capital, all the instincts of a commercial people, the prestige, as well as the support,

[1] Jean N. McIlwraith, *Sir Frederick Haldimand,* p. 264.

of a victorious host, a freedom of action denied to the vanquished, and commercial relations with the near-by colonies from which many had come. These favoured men became purveyors of the army, money brokers who dealt in bills drawn on the paymaster-general in London for the subsistence of five or six regiments, and in what were termed *Canada bills*.[2] Great Britain obtained from France an indemnity of $560,000 in bonds and $120,000 in money [3] for Canadians, but a large part went to British Canadians who had previously redeemed much of their paper money at pawnbrokers' figures.

The expenses of Great Britain, during the first forty years after the Conquest, were very heavy. The budget mentioned by Isaac Weld, even at the beginning of the nineteenth century, was $1,000,000.[4] Large sums were spent, ostensibly to conciliate the Indians, but in reality "to favour Indian trade"; [5] that is, the fur companies. The extension of Quebec, in 1774, was "in order to protect the property of the Indian trader." [6] As late as 1828 the annual grant was $125,000.[7] Haldimand refused to surrender forts which, according to the treaty, belonged to the United States, because these posts "were absolutely necessary for the protection of the fur trade." [8] At the close of the war merchants found a great quantity of accumulated furs which they bought for trivial sums.[9] This aided the further expansion of the Hudson's Bay Company and that of its rival, the North-West Company. On April 24, 1780, Haldimand estimated the annual returns in furs at $1,000,000.[10]

[2] G. Heriot, *Travels Through the Canadas*, p. 227.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 98. The word "Canadian" until 1840 meant French Canadian as it does still among French Canadians themselves.
[4] *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 375.
[5] Victor Coffin, *The Province of Quebec and the Early American Revolution*, p. 407.
[6] Cavendish, p. 187.
[7] S. DeWitt Bloodgood, *An Englishman's Sketch-Book*, p. 172.
[8] McIlwraith, p. 260.
[9] Heriot, p. 227.
[10] Myers, p. 53.

In 1788 Alexander MacKenzie values those of the North-West at $200,000, but eleven years later the returns exceeded three times that amount.[11] Both companies were amazingly successful. When Simon McTavish, head of the North-West Company, died his estate was estimated at $630,000.[12]

English officials made their positions yield them large incomes. The natives became the prey of British lawyers and office-holders. The son of Stephens Burroughs, the notorious maker of American counterfeit money, not opposed by Anglo-Canadians—this son, by political favours, became prothonotary. The revenue of his office is reported to have amounted to $100,000 a year.[13] Leading Britons laid their hands upon seigniories. Sir John Johnson, whose private interests in Canada were so important that the Colonial office declined to make him lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada, owned the seigniory of Argenteuil,[14] that of Chambly in partnership with General Christie Burton, one of Amherst's lieutenants,[15] and also the Monnoir.[16] It is difficult to say what General Christie Burton did not buy. He had the seigniory of de Léry,[17] of La Colle,[18] of Bleurie,[19] of Sabrevois, [20] of Noyan.[21] Alexander Ellice bought that of Beauharnois, Simon McTavish of the North-West Company became seignior of Terrebonne,[22] the Honorable Thomas Dunn owned St. Amand [23] and Sir Frederick Haldimand acquired that of Sorel [24] and that of Grand Pabos.[25] In 1774 Sir James Marriott asserts in Parliament that Englishmen held the principal seigniories of the day.[26] Even in Durham's time fully half of the most valuable ones

[11] *Voyages from Montreal through the Continent of North America,* Vol. I, p. xlvii.
[12] Myers, p. 62. [13] *Memoirs of Stephens Burroughs,* Appendix, p. 351.
[14] Joseph Bouchette, *Description Topographique du Bas-Canada,* p. 102.
[15] *Ibid.,* p. 173. [16] *Ibid.,* p. 198. [17] *Ibid.,* p. 179.
[18] *Ibid.,* p. 182. [19] *Ibid.,* p. 187. [20] *Ibid.,* p. 188.
[21] *Ibid.,* p. 189. [22] *Ibid.,* p. 102. [23] *Ibid.,* p. 193.
[24] *Ibid.,* p. 225. [25] McIlwraith, p. 50. [26] Cavendish, p. 319.

were held by Englishmen.[27] Almost all these possessions were bought at panic prices from men leaving the country.[28]

They did the same thing with lands. Leaving out the loyalists, who often settled where they found unoccupied places, some of whom took up expropriated farms of the hapless Acadian exiles—there was a reckless bestowal of Crown lands on Britons. Mr. James Cowan secured 43,620 acres, Simon McTavish as well as his associate, Joseph Frobisher, obtained 11,500 acres; Thomas Scott, well remembered as a legal investigator of the estates of the Jesuits, 21,991 acres; William Barnard, 40,753 acres; Elmer Cushing, the American inn-keeper in Montreal, the informer against David McLane, received for his reward the township of Shipton; that is, 58,962 acres.[29] Henry Caldwell had two grants amounting to nearly 50,000 acres. From February 2, 1796, to March 26, 1814, all grants, including those to soldiers, amounted to 2,203,709 acres.[30] The Magdalen Island, later on given to Sir Isaac Coffin, legally belonged to the Comte de St. Pierre.[31]

According to Lord Durham millions of acres from all the provinces had been given to creatures of the administration. The eccentric Colonel Talbot, a favourite of George the Fourth, who ever clamoured against the "land-grabbers," [32] received 48,500 acres. Benedict Arnold applied for something like thirty-one square miles. Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe saw no objection to its being granted.[33] Large tracts of land were given to loyalists, though many of them had fought against England.[34] "Nearly the whole of Prince Edward Island," says Durham, "about 1,400,000 acres, was alienated in one day to absentees, and upon conditions

[27] *Report*, p. 21.
[28] De Gaspé, *Les anciens Canadiens*, p. 159.
[29] P. Gagnon, Vol. I, p. 142.
[30] Bouchette, *Description Topographique du Bas-Canada, Appendix*, p. liv.
[31] Faucher de St. Maurice, *De Tribord à babord*, p. 198.
[32] W. L. Baby, *Souvenirs of the Past, etc.*, p. 39.
[33] D. C. Scott, *John Graves Simcoe*, p. 104.
[34] Lady Edgar, *Ten Years of Upper Canada in Peace and War*, p. 64.

which they have wholly disregarded." [35] Over 15,000,000 acres in the surveyed districts of Upper Canada were granted to men, most of whom became land speculators.[36] Much of it was given by the Council "to themselves or their friends." [37] "Grants," says Charles Lindsay, "were not infrequently made to persons in the service of officials, and afterwards transferred to the officials themselves or their children. One case on record is that of a three days' child of a member of the Executive Council to whom a grant of a reserve, applied for, was actually made." [38] As a rule they evaded the conditions of the grants.[39] The Toronto magnates, about the forties, owed their wealth to this source.[40]

The pious and regretted Bishop Mountain was allowed 12,000 acres for himself, "making, with the clergy reserves, nearly one-half of all the surveyed land" of Upper Canada.[41] Anglicans were allowed one-seventh of the land, but in practice, by "the clearest violation of the provisions" of the Act, they obtained "one-sixth of the land granted." Whatever disposal of this was ultimately made favoured the British. Up to 1837 but little of this soil had been occupied, cleared, and cultivated [42] as, by the terms of the grant, it should have been; but, nevertheless, it gave rise to frenzied land speculations which were carried on with all the clap-trap of gamblers. The Canada Company, headed by John Galt, bought 3,500,000 acres in 1826. It made millions of dollars. Many similar schemes were carried on by other societies with similar results. There was a fraudulent network of agencies of immigration against which Lord Durham raised his voice, such as the illegal

[35] *Report,* p. 175.
[36] *Ibid.,* p. 155.
[37] W. L. Grant, *History of Canada,* p. 182.
[38] *William Lyon Mackenzie,* p. 74.
[39] Christie, Vol. III, p. 189.
[40] Sir R. H. Bonnycastle, *The Canadas in 1841,* Vol. I, p. 191.
[41] *Report,* p. 158.
[42] *Ibid.,* p. 159.

overcrowding of ships,[43] "a vast system of extortion [44]—note Lord Durham's words, "a vast system"—and of transportation in unseaworthy vessels.[45] Adam Hodgson,[46] "a citizen of Edinburgh," [47] Joseph Pickering,[48] and many other Britons protested most earnestly against these horrible practices.

Among the conspicuous sources of British Canadian wealth were spirituous drinks. Three years after the Cession Attorney-General Masères claimed that the annual import of spirits reached 250,000 gallons.[49] Afterwards a large distillery was built,[50] in which "rum was the only liquor manufactured." [51] The small French breweries were replaced by large British ones. They met enormous demands for alcoholic drinks which were also supplied from other sources. To the port of Quebec, in 1824, were brought 100,000 gallons of different kinds of wines, 70,000 gallons of rum, and 80,000 gallons of brandy from England, 23,000 from Teneriffe and 100,000 gallons of rum from the West Indies and other colonies.[52] Visiting Colonel Talbot, W. L. Baby speaks of "whiskey at twenty cents a gallon." [53] There was an amazing use of it. Joseph Pickering attended an auction in Ontario at which, he says, "Every time a person gives a bidding, he is offered the bottle of whiskey to drink, besides its free and constant circulation through the whole company." [54]

All these ventures made those men grow rich. Their wealth placed them in constant relations with England and the United States and other progressive nations. In that

[43] *Ibid.*, p. 179. [44] *Ibid.*, p. 183. [45] *Ibid.*, p. 184.
[46] *Letters from North America Written During a Tour of the United States and Canada.*
[47] *Journal of an Excursion to the United States and Canada in 1832, 1833 and 1835.*
[48] *Inquiries of an Emigrant;* being the Narrative of an English Farmer, 1824-1830.
[49] *D. C. H. C.*, p. 184. [50] *Ibid.*, p. 319.
[51] Stone and Hund, p. 16. [52] Hopkins, *Progress, etc.*, p. 184.
[53] *Souvenirs of the Past*, p. 20. [54] *Inquiries of an Emigrant*, p. 128.

way British colonists were led to tackle the problem of transportation which, in the whole of North America, was then the great problem. Mr. John Molson, a man of striking initiative, was the first to run steamers. He did not have a monopoly, but his charter was such as to make the enterprise yield good returns. After the canals were dug, as they were then dug, many steamers went up the lakes carrying on British enterprise. Meanwhile French Canadians did the perilous work of handling dangerous *bateaux*. When they attempted to have a share in this work of steamers, Lord Durham resented their invasion of this real monopoly of his kinsmen.[55] Could French Canadians, in 1860, have secured the subsidy of $520,000 voted to the Allan Line? [56] Could they have obtained the $225,000 a year which Sir Charles Tupper procured from the British Government for the steamship service of the Canadian Pacific Railroad? [57] Canadian lines have their steamers ploughing the oceans, not by any particular ethnological gift of Anglo-Canadians, but through British capital, British enterprise, and British commerce.

The same aggressive spirit showed itself in the matter of railways. At first Britain furnished the capital and most of the technical skill. Thirty years ago no less than $60,000,000 of British capital had been invested in the Grand Trunk Railway [58] and much of that money was lost to English shareholders.[59] Owing to the introduction of politics in this domain the short roads built by small investors, by towns and cities, were absorbed by great combinations and became the prey of Anglo-Canadian capitalists. They did their utmost to prevent Americans from entering this field and especially from having any share in the great enterprise of the Canadian Pacific. When it was

[55] *Report*, p. 26. [56] John Boyd, *Sir George Cartier*, p. 168.
[57] Langley, *Sir Charles Tupper*, p. 221.
[58] G. Smith, *Canada and the Canadian Question*, p. 202.
[59] Bourinot, *Canada Under British Rule*, p. 115.

understood that Sir Hugh Allan was supported by New York capitalists there was a great outcry in the English Canadian press, "Canada for the Canadians. . . . Canadian enterprise for the Canadian capitalists." [60] Again the men in this syndicate exacted from the government limitless privileges of all kinds, bound ultimately to yield almost fabulous revenues, while the wealth which they had accumulated before enabled them to be the beneficiaries of this phenomenally successful enterprise.

Perhaps inspired by Americans, but certainly helped by them, this same class covered their land with trusts and mergers. It would be difficult to mention an important Canadian utility which has not come within the tentacles of these organizations. Tariff protection and bounties, combinations of favours and exemptions which would be condemned by all modern orderly governments, made large Canadian fortunes. An English economist, Mr. Edward Porritt, well known for his large investigations of economic conditions of Anglo-Saxon North America, has given us the history of mergers which seems scarcely credible.[61] Concessions to large companies or to individuals resulted in swollen fortunes; for example, the Dunsmuirs in British Columbia secured the privilege of building a short road, but in reality to make themselves owners of rich coal lands,[62] valued at from $100,000,000 to $200,000,000.

There was also the Hudson's Bay Company whose rights were doubted, nay,[63] denied, by most eminent Canadian and English jurists. The King of England granted privileges to the great company where he had none, as they belonged to France. The society constantly extended its grasp, secured new favours from the government, and, until

[60] George Stewart Jr., *Canada Under the Administration of the Earl of Dufferin*, p. 122.
[61] *The Revolt in Canada Against the New Feudalism.*
[62] Hobson, *Canada To-day*, p. 108. [63] Myers, p. 309.

lately, *was* the English Government in what is now British Columbia. The celebrated company for a long time could really have said, *L'Angleterre c'est moi.*[64] Even when England repurchased the rights of this autocratic organisation in 1838 its autocratic reign continued, but it had to come to an end—not that of its financial power. There was a clever deal between the government and this astute society whereby its questionable rights were sold for $1,500,000, 50,000 acres of land, and with that, one-twentieth of all the lands on the great belt south of the north branch of the Saskatchewan. "Truly a king's ransom," says Mr. W. L. Griffith.[65] In 1874 it sold at auction building lots in its reserve around Fort Garry, thirteen acres, at the rate of $7,000 an acre.[66] In nineteen years it disposed of lands amounting to $15,000,000, and even then it still had left 4,032,860 acres of great value. It distributes annually to stockholders $2,000,000.[67] There again is one of the great financial streams which contributed to Anglo-Canadian opulence. At the time of the Great Transfer much of the English stock, when it was unusually low, was placed in Anglo-Canadian hands.

From June 1, 1776, to October 24, 1782, the mother country spent $6,477,595 for Canada.[67a] The government paid claims of loyalists to the enormous amount of $18,912,294[68] and spent $16,000,000 for their settlement.[69] The six vessels constructed in 1794 for the government, on Lake Ontario, cost 24,000 guineas.[70] From twenty to thirty *bateaux* were kept for national service on the St. Lawrence, carrying necessaries for the troops and involving large expense.[71] The transportation of the frigate

[64] R. H. Coats, and R. E. Gosnell, *Sir James Douglas,* pp. 207, 217.
[65] *The Dominion of Canada,* p. 67.
[66] G. M. Grant, *Ocean to Ocean,* p. 77. [67] Myers, p. 148.
[67a] *Collections of the Mass. Hist. Society,* Vol. II, second series, p. 122.
[68] Scott, *John Graves Simcoe,* p. 55.
[69] W. L. Grant, *History of Canada,* p. 135.
[70] Scott, p. 113. [71] Heriot, p. 55.

Psyche, built in England and sent in sections from Quebec to Kingston, is said to have cost $60,000.[72] All this brought money to English enterprise. The letters of the Ridout family show how extensively money was scattered in Upper Canada during the War of 1812, which was of "undoubted benefit to those in trade."[73] According to Howison, "the military establishments had brought such an influx of money into the country that everyone forgot his distress and thought himself on the highroad to wealth."[74] Anglo-Canadians received from $1,000,000 to $1,500,000 for their losses during the conflict.[75] At the time of Lord Sydenham, "the Canadian timber trade enjoyed heavy British bounties." It not only remained in English hands but the timber was transported by Britons. As the St. Lawrence was closed to all other carriers British freighters established the rates of transportation, which were always higher than from New York to Liverpool.

From England much money came for the support of regiments and their officers, money which largely remained in the hands of the Anglo-Canadians. According to Colonel William Wood, England spent $35,000,000 upon the fortress of Quebec,[76] but of all this work not a single contract was given to a French Canadian firm. The same government paid large sums for the digging of the Lachine Canal and $5,000,000 for the Rideau Canal. During the nineteenth century Britain disbursed for troops and fortifications in the Dominion $500,000,000.[77] According to Mr. Hopkins, England spent $1,500,000,000 in the Dominion during that time.[78] She guaranteed many Canadian loans. In 1914 money from the motherland was pouring

[72] Talbot, *Five Years' Residence in the Canadas,* Vol. I, p. 98.
[73] Lady Edgar, *Ten Years of Upper Canada in Peace and War,* p. 225.
[74] Howison, *Sketches of Upper Canada,* p. 94.
[75] James Stuart, *Three Years in North America,* p. 157.
[76] Hopkins, *The Progress of Canada in the Century,* p. 342.
[77] Hopkins and Renison, *Canada at War,* 1914-1918, p. 7.
[78] *The Progress,* p. 471.

into Anglo-Canadian institutions at the rate of $200,000,000 a year and British investments, up to 1918, reached a total of $2,800,000,000.[79] All this contributed powerfully to Anglo-Canadian enterprise and wealth. In his book, *Quebec, the Laurentian Province,* Mr. Beckles Willson exclaims, "Think that hardly a dollar of the $2,400,000,000 which England has put into industrial Canada has gone into French Canadian enterprise." [80] No mention is made of the large sum, which, from the Cession to the union of the Canadas, was paid by the Canadian Colonial Government to placemen.

In their development Anglo-Canadians were helped in other ways, but especially by the richest British contribution of all—men. When Lord Selkirk brought so many of his countrymen over, his designs were frustrated by the cruel action of the North-West Company, but much of his money remained in the country and his men settled in Upper Canada.[81] Eight hundred of his emigrants made their home in Prince Edward Island, in a district from which the French had been expelled.[82] Placemen watched their chances and brought over their relatives to secure possession of the best of the land. Haldimand called his nephews to government positions. Talbot attracted Englishmen and settled them. Irishmen were imported on a large scale. The little colony of Peterboro involved the British Government in an expense of $215,000. The settlement of loyalists in New Carlisle and Douglastown absorbed upwards of $400,000. Judge Thompson humorously said to the Bishop of Quebec that this sum must have been spent in making excavations underground, as nothing was visible on top to justify such an outlay.[83] There were paid

[79] Hopkins and Renison, pp. 7, 15.
[80] *Quebec, the Laurentian Province,* p. 11.
[81] Bryce, *Mackenzie, Selkirk, Simpson, pp.* 129, 132 and 165.
[82] *Ibid.,* pp. 130, 132.
[83] Le Moine, *The Chronicles of the St. Lawrence,* p. 15.

$200,000 for the conveyance to Acadia of 3,760 sailors, soldiers and other people, and, not to speak of other gifts, when Nova Scotia was organised into a government, it received in six years no less than $2,077,520.[84]

Apart from American loyalists, pseudo-loyalists, and commercial men who entered Canada in large numbers from the United States, there was a trek which, in seventeen years, brought 1,000,000 American settlers.[85] While Britain favoured the emigration to Canada of her excess population and English religious societies encouraged it, Canadians, through the Dominion Government, made large outlays to bring over their kith and kin and other emigrants who, in the nature of the case, were to speak English. No encouragement was given to immigration from Belgium, Switzerland and France to increase the French population [86] which remained in a state of anæmic isolation.

Britain, with her paternalism—nay, rather, with her munificent maternalism—showered her gifts upon her Canadian sons. She paid considerable money at an early hour to sustain Anglican clergymen and even Presbyterians,[87] advanced money to religious schools,[88] and made an annual grant of $16,000 to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel which was continued for twenty years, making a total of $320,000. Then the honoraria of Anglican clergymen were paid directly to them. In 1836 $150,000 was further paid to help religious progress.[89] The Church of England sustained her own colonial churches, at first, to the amount of $60,000. In 1821 this was increased to $105,000 and for more than twenty years she disbursed an annual grant of $115,000, probably more than $2,300,000,

[84] Buckingham, *Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick*, p. 326.
[85] Hopkins and Renison, *Canada and the War*, p. 11.
[86] Arnould, p. 218.
[87] H. C. Stuart, *The Church of England in Canada*, p. 91.
[88] N. Egerton Burwash, *Ryerson*, p. 142.
[89] Hopkins, *The Progress of Canada*, p. 155.

during that time. Not to speak of what the Church Missionary Society gave, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel gave, between 1842 and 1865, over $2,000,000.[90]

When Bishop Mountain began his work he had six clergymen in Lower Canada and three in the other province. At the time of his death his clergy numbered sixty-one, forty-nine of whom were sustained by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.[91] The Anglican Cathedral of Quebec was built by the King.[92] The coming over of Anglican clergymen was officially encouraged. The Prince Regent promised that any one of them remaining ten years in Upper Canada "shall be entitled to receive one hundred pounds sterling for life." [93] Presbyterians were helped from Scotland. "British voluntary societies contributed $100,000,000 during the nineteenth century." [94] This increased the influx of men of a high moral tone, having a certain culture, reading English books, using English goods, as well as receiving English money. French Canadians at the Cession ceased to receive help from France. The former grants to train priests, to build churches, to help hospitals, to sustain the chapter and the bishop were all stopped.[95] They had no wealthy men, no rich society, except the Sulpicians, but these were pledged by the British Government not to use their wealth for brethren of France.

The late principal of McGill University, Sir William Peterson, a notable scholar and a great educator, said that Canada "contains as yet comparatively little realized wealth." [96] When the "comparatively" is regarded from the French Canadian point of view, "the realized wealth" is prodigious. It has enabled Anglo-Canadians to have better homes, better food, better clothing; to have the education which comes from opulence, from large social

[90] *Ibid.*, p. 361. [91] Christie, Vol. III, p. 82. [92] *Ibid.*, p. 81.
[93] Lady Edgar, *Ten Years of Upper Canada*, p. 76.
[94] Hopkins and Renison, *Canada at War*, p. 7.
[95] Têtu, p. 316. [96] *Canadian Essays and Addresses*, p. 45.

relations, from travel; to have the immediate benefit of British and American civilization; to have, among others, McGill University—the great and glorious university—enriched by Sir William Macdonald with some $12,000,000,[97] by Lord Strathcona's princely gifts, by contributions of rich Montrealers, by two memorable drives, one of $5,000,000, to give their people the best university life possible. It was this wealth that enabled their sons to go to the celebrated schools of the Old World, and their young artists to study under the great art teachers of Paris.[98] This has been true of the whole realm of liberal studies, while the Rhodes scholarship gave the best of European culture to a select group of their young men.

The most dynamic action of England came with the arrival of the honest, patient, British toilers who have created the most permanent wealth; yeomen who cleared the land; skilful operatives who helped the industrial development of the country; representatives of large commercial institutions flourishing in the motherland and now blooming with amazing vigour in the Dominion. There came, above all, men of progressive spirit, well trained in the best technical schools of England—engineers, journalists, sociologists, university professors, organists of high merit, and artists, who have been the extension, on this continent, of the best English life, bringing with them scientific knowledge and insight, British empiricism and Scottish idealism, men endowed with the spirit of modern progress, burning with the desire to get, with this vital onrush from Britain, a reincarnation of the parent nation. Was there ever a people more favoured in every way than the Anglo-Canadians?

What a contrast to the corresponding history of the French! After the Conquest important parts of their

[97] *The Gazette,* Montreal, November 23, 1920.
[98] *Canada and Its Provinces,* Vol. XII, pp. 606-632.

country were as bad as recently devastated France. Quebec city was ruined, its monasteries and public institutions almost entirely destroyed, few of the homes were habitable. The description of that metropolis made by Bishop de Pontbriand [99] is as heartrending as that made of the country by a Briton. "We burned and destroyed upwards of fourteen hundred fine farm-houses, for we, during the siege, were masters of a great part of the country along the shore, and parties were almost continually kept out ravaging the country so that 'tis tho't will take them half a century to recover the damage." [100] Houseless and homeless, their flouring mills were destroyed, and for a long time they had to cook their wheat unground in boiling water so as to be able to eat it.[101] Their clothing, their agricultural implements, and their tools to cut and work wood had disappeared in the great disaster.[102] Their paper money was for a while almost worthless; some of it was sold to British traders at a discount of 90 per cent.[103] Truly a terrible situation. No exchange, no credit, and no commerce with any country but England.

They had lost their magistrates, more than a quarter of their priests, their administrators, most of their seigniors, their lettered people, and their rich traders. Even their clergy were disorganized and scattered.[104] Their churches in Montreal and Quebec were seized and utilized as receptacles for government stores. Catholics were allowed to use them on sufferance only.[105] Some Anglo-Canadian writers say that they had "the free exercise of religion," but what would be the free exercise of religion for Anglicans without their bishops, for Presbyterians without their

[99] Têtu, p. 253.
[100] *A Journal of the Expedition Up the St. Lawrence, New York Mercury,* December 31, 1759.
[101] De Gaspé, *Les anciens Canadiens,* p. 78.
[102] Ferland, Vol. II, p. 386.
[103] Ramsay, p. 111.
[104] Têtu, p. 255.
[105] H. C. Stuart, *The Church of England in Canada,* p. 13.

synods? Freedom for Catholics involved the existence of their hierarchy and their relations with the Pope. Their bishop, whose diocese included Louisiana and Acadia, was deprived even of his own title, reserved for the Anglican prelate, the "Lord Bishop of Quebec," whose diocesans were a mere handful. Some of the conquerors wanted to establish the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of England over French Canada [106] and urged the Executive Council to take possession of the Catholic bishop's palace with all the property connected with it for the Bishop of London.

There is nothing more un-Protestant than the aims of the officials who wished to despoil the Church of her privileges. Amherst and Baron Masères would replace priests at their death by Protestant ministers,[107] while the Lords Commissioners would open all churches to Protestants.[108] Prescott opposed the creation of new parishes. Craig wanted the right to appoint Catholic priests to the churches, and the disposal of the Jesuits' estate as well as that of the St. Sulpice Seminary in Montreal.[109] Amherst coveted the property of the Jesuits, and George III had promised it. Durham said that the action of the British Government in this matter "is one by no means creditable to it. For it has applied the Jesuits' estates, part of the property destined for the purposes of education, to supply a species of fund for secret service; and for a number of years it has maintained an obstinate struggle with the Assembly in order to continue this misappropriation." [110] The property of the Recollets in Quebec was confiscated and their land given to build the present Anglican cathedral, not to speak of their chapel in Three Rivers and the Jesuit church in Montreal [111] which were turned into Anglican churches. There were threats and annoyances which discouraged the clergy and

[106] Garneau, Vol. III, p. 297.
[107] Cavendish, p. 131.
[108] Garneau, Vol. II, p. 405.
[109] *Ibid.*, p. 140.
[110] *Report*, p. 96.
[111] H. C. Stuart, p. 69.

the people, and were like the shadows of a coming doom. Speaking of them in Parliament in 1774 Justice Hey said, "They were terrified and in a state of almost distraction. They neither expected to retain their religion nor their laws, and looked upon themselves as a ruined and abandoned people." [112] There was the thought, and perhaps the talk, among the merchants of the expulsion of these unfortunates, for Murray, seeing the attitude of the traders, said, "Nothing will satisfy the Licentious Fanatics Trading here but the Expulsion of the Canadians who are the bravest and perhaps the best race upon the Globe." [113] The contingency of their expulsion he contemplates in a letter to his chief on August 20, 1766.[114] He had already said of the natives, "Their greatest dread is lest they should meet the fate of the Acadians and be torn from their native country." [115]

Through British subjects, the Canadians were excluded from all the sources of wealth so liberally opened to British colonists. While the Hudson's Bay and North-West companies were given a limitless range of action, French Canadians, even under Murray, were restrained and annoyed by petty regulations which opened the whole field to their rivals.[116] Haldimand did the same thing.[117] The imperial country monopolized the commerce of its dependencies to an unreasonable degree. More than three score years after the Cession the Assembly complains that by an act of Parliament [118] "All rum even produced in an English colony, imported in this province from any place whatsoever except Great Britain, is regarded as foreign and subjected to duties so high that it destroys the commerce of this item from the isles or any other colony of Her Majesty." [119] The native was prevented from buying, at his own door, goods which

[112] Cavendish, p. 157. [113] *D. C. H. C.*, p. 167. [114] Ramsay, p. 129.
[115] *Ibid.*, p. 60. [116] Papers—*General Murray's Civil Government*, p. 81.
[117] McIlwraith, *Sir Frederick Haldimand*, p. 54.
[118] 6 George IV, cap. 73 and 114. [119] Perrault, Vol. III, p. 139.

had to be imported from England and at a higher price. What would have happened to any British colony, absolutely cut off from its parental and historical relations, isolated from the rest of the world and compelled to trade only with its conquerors?

French merchandise was prohibited and French merchants were forbidden to enter the province. This applied to men of distinction as well as to others. The Duc de la Rochefoucault-Liancourt, who visited Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe was prevented from going further.[120] In the same way Lord Dorchester forbade a French marquis [121] and the Comte de Moustier, French ambassador to the United States.[122] This was slightly relaxed, later on, but with the exception of forty-two exiled French priests, who entered the country during the French Revolution, it was only in 1840 that French Canada received the visit of a prominent Frenchman, Mgr. de Forbin-Janson, a most earnest and somewhat sensational Roman Catholic revivalist.[123] The son of Ampère also made a brief sojourn. As far as mental influences from France—the only ones that could have affected the French Canadian—were concerned he might as well have lived in another planet. Cut off from the old homeland and forgotten by it, afraid of the Americans, and knowing the peculiar types of Britons about him, he breathed freely only after the union of the Canadas. Objective historians recognise that for nearly four score years, when he was not provoked by grasping traders or by placemen with Prussian ethics, or annoyed by some of the governors, he was paralyzed by his poverty, his ignorance of English, and long kept out of the economic currents of Canada.

As early as 1839 Durham says that "no accession of population takes place by immigration, and no capital is

[120] Bradley, *Lord Dorchester*, p. 289. [121] *Ibid.*, p. 241.
[122] *Ibid.*, p. 248. [123] N. E. Dionne, *Mgr. de Forbin-Janson*, p. 67.

brought into the country." [124] Twenty years later Sir A. T. Galt pleads that French Canadians "had not the advantages of the other portion of the Canadian community, that they had been settled for a very long period of time, and had not the advantages of a fresh influx of immigration and that all their advances proceeded from themselves." [125] As we have seen, Canadian authorities, in spite of their large outlay for immigration, brought no French element from Europe. From the motherland French Canadians received a few clergymen, practically no teachers. Until lately they were kept out of touch with the men of letters, journalists, artists, scientists, sociologists, political economists, financiers, military and naval officers, manufacturers and commercial men of France—the men representing her progress and her civilization.

When Anglo-Canadians assume disdainful airs of superiority—the nobler, educated types do not—they lay stress upon their powers of wealth acquisition and upon economic ethics. The French Canadian, though not indifferent to material values, honours, above all, religion, refinement, manners, and altruism. While loyal to Great Britain, he clings to his language, to his laws, and to his faith. He lays stress upon eternal values. He loves every instrument of his survival—his schools, his colleges, his universities, his social life, his literature, his art—and is second to none in philanthropy. He has less money than Anglo-Canadians, but more contentment. He adheres to agricultural life, not as the quickest avenue to wealth, but as the best way to make men devoted to country and to God. It is true, as a distinguished Anglo-Canadian, Dr. Douglas, said, that the ethical motives of the Church "have not been toward material advance or the creation of indi-

[124] *Report*, p. 201.
[125] *Relations of the Industries of Canada with the Mother Country and the United States*, p. 366.

vidual initiative." [126] French Canadians have so far lacked utilitarian training, but it must be admitted that, in the common struggle for existence between the two peoples, economic and political causes, rather than ethnological ones, have been the greatest forces of determination of the two national units.

[126] *New England and New France*, p. 517.

CHAPTER IV

EARLY BRITISH RULE IN CANADA

THE fate of Canadians after the Conquest was not different from that of all vanquished peoples. Undesirable elements from the triumphant nation followed the victorious armies. Most British writers have characterised the new-comers as "traders and miscellaneous people of lower degree, with a few disbanded soldiers, and half pay officers, who had followed the army. . . . inferior representatives of their nation." [1] "The first British inhabitants," says Robert Anstruther Ramsay, "were in great part composed of followers of the army and of adventurers from other colonies who had come to Canada as into a conquered country for purposes analogous to plunder, which Murray had by all means to check." [2] According to Principal W. L. Grant, they "were for the most part Scotch-Americans from New England, in connection with certain large business houses in London." [3]

Murray says that they "are Traders, Mechanics and Publicans who reside in the two towns of Quebec and Montreal. Most of them were followers of the Army of Mean Education, or soldiers disbanded at the Reduction of the Troops; all had their Fortunes to make, and I fear few of them are solicitous about the Means, when the end can be obtained. I report them to be in General the most immoral Collection of Men I ever Knew, of course little

[1] Bradley, *Lord Dorchester*, p. 9.
[2] R. A. Ramsay, *Canada from the Conquest to the Quebec Act*, p. 38.
[3] W. L. Grant, *History of Canada*, p. 120.

calculated to make the new Subjects enamoured with our Laws, Religion and Customs far less adapted to enforce the Laws and to Govern." [4] The legend created by Professor Victor Coffin of a General Murray whose "military training had prejudiced . . . in favour of the old Canadian aristocracy" will scarcely stand the test of historical criticism. His language was energetic, and, at times, excessive through righteous indignation, but he saw clear, was thoroughly fearless and outspoken. His opinion was scarcely different from that of the writer of *The Justice and Policy of the Quebec Act* who says, "Few of these persons were of a respectable class in the provinces whence they had emigrated. . . . They had been sutlers to the troops, or Indian traders." [5]

What we know of these men, through General Carleton, does not materially differ from the statements of Murray. "The few old subjects, at present in this Province, have been mostly left here by Accident, and are either disbanded Officers, Soldiers or Followers of the Army, who, not Knowing how to dispose of themselves elsewhere, settled where they were left at the Reduction; or else they are Adventurers in Trade, or such as could not remain at Home, who set out to mend their Fortunes, at the opening of this new Channel for Commerce, but experience has taught almost all of them, that this Trade requires a Strict Frugality, they are strangers to." [6] Speaking in the Parliament, in 1774, of non-French Canadians who move westward, towards Detroit and Michigan, he characterises them as "a lawless people not accustomed to government." [7] The liquor traffic was a good fortune for many of them. In the Parliament Carleton exclaims, "I beg leave to add that in the list of Jurors I mentioned, there were a great number of disbanded soldiers, that kept tippling houses." [8] A little

[4] Ramsay, p. 127.
[5] Ramsay, p. 40.
[6] *D. C. H. C.*, p. 198.
[7] Cavendish, p. 143.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 106.

later he rises again and says, "By the returns I saw, a good number of disbanded soldiers, who had no other livelihood than selling rum." [9] In the list of saloon-keepers for the district of Montreal there were thirty-two British Protestants out of a population of one hundred and thirty-six,[10] that is, nearly one-quarter of them belonged to this trade. An Anglican minister, even, "kept a little dirty dram-shop." [11]

These institutions were far from helpful to the morals of the population. Canadians sent a petition to the King urging that the large number of licences granted will "corrupt the people . . . encite vice and libertinages." [12] Carleton gives us a quaint picture of these publicans and of their influence. There is a delicate irony in his portrait of John McCord, who, when he sees this trade curtailed by "the enclosing the Barracks to prevent Soldiers from getting drunk all hours of the Day and Night . . . has commenced Patriot." [13] He does his utmost to have an Assembly. A meeting is held at the inn of Miles Prentis in the upper town [14] and doubtless John King who kept the "Quebec Arms," a gambling house, or worse, was with them.[15] It is of this class of men that Murray spoke when he says that he has to make "Magistrates . . . and Juries composed of four hundred and fifty Sutlers and Traders." These "are out of Humour because he could not make them all magistrates."

Of those that were so appointed, "their deportment in their new dignity did not serve to alleviate the grief and chagrin of the discarded French *noblesse,* who felt themselves not less disgraced by their own dismission than by the elevation of such men into their seats." [16] The admission of these colonists to civil and judicial functions turned

[9] Cavendish, p. 147.
[10] Ramsay, p. 130.
[11] Riddell, p. 165.
[12] Ramsay, p. 82.
[13] *D. C. H. C.*, p. 206.
[14] *Ibid.*, pp. 206, 341.
[15] *Ibid.*, p. 155.
[16] Ramsay, p. 40.

their heads. They became unbearably insolent. They irritated Canadians and army Officers alike.[17] The latter appreciated the natives, were most friendly to them, and on that account there was a cleavage in the British population, the civil and the military.[18] Feeling ran so high between them that, in Montreal, officers assaulted a justice named Walker, who was left in his room almost lifeless, with an ear cut off.[19]

Apart from these improvised magistrates England sent over incompetent men to help jurisprudence. "The improper choice," says Murray, "and the number of Civil Officers sent over from England, increases the disquietude of the Colony. Instead of men of Genius and untainted Morals, the Reverse were appointed to important Offices, under whom it was impossible to communicate these Impressions of the Dignity of Government by which alone mankind can be held together in Society. The Judge pitched upon to conciliate the Minds of Seventy-five Thousand Foreigners to the Laws and Government of Great Britain was taken from a Gaol, entirely ignorant of Civil Law and of the Language of the People; the Attorney-General with regard to the Language was not better Qualified; The Officers of the Secretary of the Province, Register, Clerk of the Council, Commissary of the Stores and Provisions, Provost Marshal, etc., were given by Patent to Men of Interest in England, who let them out to the best Bidders . . . not one understood the language of the Natives." [20]

Lord Elibank deplores that "weak, ignorant, and interested men were sent over, to carry the Proclamation into execution, who expounded it in the most absurd manner,

[17] Murray, *Letter,* March 2, 1765. [18] *Can. Arch.,* Vol. VI, p. 197.
[19] Murray, *Letter,* August 20, 1766.
[20] *Letter* to Lord Elibank. See also *Papers on General Murray's Civil Government* in Ramsay, *Canada from the Conquest to the Quebec Act,* p. 75.

oppressive and cruel to the last degree, to the subjects, and entirely contrary to the Royal Intention." [21] Murray speaks of "the rapacity of the English Lawyers." [22] Carleton urges the imperativeness of removing "the present reproach that our English Justice and English Offices are calculated to drain the people of the little substance they have left," [23] that he has to restrain "Officers who live by Fees, from running them to Extortion," [24] that "more respectable and industrious peasants have been ruined by this chicanery than there were British residents in Canada"; that "three or four hundred families had been turned out of their homes, land sold for not one-eighth of its value, debtors ruined and debts still undischarged, fees absorbing everything." [25] Mr. Bradley, who has given us a fair and objective statement of conditions, showed us Carleton, "plagued by the continual appearance of these placemen, generally representatives of backstair influence, sometimes the inferior deputies of inferior men at home with political influence who took the lion's share of the salary." [26]

We know these men also through Carleton in the debates of the Quebec Act, from May 26 to June 14, 1774, in the Parliament in London. When a small set of members insisted that Canada should be ruled by the jurisprudence and laws of London, he warned them that the permanent establishment of English laws would be delivering the natives of Canada "over a prey to everybody that goes there as an attorney or lawyer." [27] Then he also disclosed how undesirable were those officials. "I would not venture to say," he states, "there is one lawyer in the whole province who has been at the bar in England; I may be mistaken." Then he called forth a laugh from his dignified hearers when he added, "I do not know one that ever was

[21] Quoted from Riddell, p. 144.
[22] *Letter,* August 20, 1766.
[23] *D. C. H. C.,* p. 205.
[24] *Ibid.,* p. 206.
[25] Quoted from Bradley, *Lord Dorchester,* p. 52.
[26] *Ibid.,* p. 185.
[27] Cavendish, p. 107.

at the bar as a lawyer." [28] "All the judges in the courts of justice of Canada were not bred to the law." [29] Mr. John Dunning speaks of "the ignorant, foolish and low men in the seats of justice." [30] Another member, Thomas Townshend, mentions that at one time "an army surgeon, a gentleman certainly very respectable by education, presided in the court of King's bench"; [31] a man without any legal training. Had English law been Heaven-made when interpreted by such men, it could not, to use Carleton's words, have been but "very grievous and oppressive to Canadians." [32]

Murray and Carleton were in favour of a just treatment of the natives; both were severe, and not without cause, with the men who were first in preventing the union of two peoples. The charges of the future Lord Dorchester though *suaviter in modo* are certainly *fortiter in re,* as we have seen. Murray, writing to Cramahé, does not conceal his deepest feelings when he says, "I love the Canadians but you cannot conceive the uneasiness I feel on their account to see them made the prey of the most abandoned of men." His valediction is that of a high-souled Briton. "I glory in having been accused of warmth and firmness in my protecting the King's Canadian Subjects and doing the utmost in my Power to gain to my Royal Master the affection of that Brave, hardy People." [33]

A distinguished Montreal writer has represented the early British settlers as "men of capacity, character and education of a high order." This is not in keeping with the testimonies of those who knew them best, from those who suffered from them, and from their own utterances, especially in the *Presentment of the Grand Jury of Quebec,*[34] dated October 16, 1764. Their assertions are those of un-

[28] *Ibid.,* p. 109.
[29] *Ibid.,* p. 211.
[30] *Ibid.,* p. 117.
[31] *Ibid.,* p. 110.
[32] *Ibid.,* p. 279.
[33] *Letter,* August 20, 1766.
[34] *D. C. H. C.,* p. 153.

trained minds introducing all kinds of pleas at once, without discrimination. Their statements are full of errors and contradictions. They speak of Canada as an infant colony, though it was as old as Virginia.[35] They ask for an Assembly which "would create Harmony and good understanding." What harmony and good understanding would have been produced by an Assembly of such English settlers, for such English settlers, and by such English settlers? They had expected to enjoy "the blessings of British Liberty, which in plain English means the monopoly of authority over their French fellow-subjects." [36] Their political judgments, grievances, retaliations are those of passionate, selfish, ignorant men, incapable of sequent, logical thinking, and of doing justice to their fellow-subjects.

They frequently pose as representatives of large economic interests, but here again their assertions do not ring true. Murray speaks of the "few British Traders living here, of which not above Ten or Twelve have any Property in this Province." [37] "Few or none of these ancient Subjects . . . had landed property in Canada." [38] Carleton alleges that "few of them have any property at all." [39] During his absence in England, ninety-one of these men signed a petition for an Assembly, but only five were freeholders.[40] Canadian remonstrants mention the same fact; less than thirty owned houses in Quebec, or Montreal, or farms in the country.[41] Referring to those who wish to have them proscribed they speak of "about thirty merchants, of whom fifteen at most are settled here." [42] One feature of their "Presentment" is the crooked way in which it was secured. Mr. A. G. Bradley, describing it, says, "Moreover, six French Canadian grand jurors who under-

[35] Bradley, *Lord Dorchester*, p. 15.
[36] *Ibid.*, p. 18.
[37] D. C. H. C., Note, p. 150.
[38] Ramsay, p. 40.
[39] Cavendish, p. 247.
[40] Bradley, *Lord Dorchester*, p. 60.
[41] *D. C. H. C.*, p. 344.
[42] *Ibid.*, p. 165.

stood no English had been fraudulently induced to join in the presentment and now petitioned the King, stating in what manner they had been deceived." [43] None but ignorant, as well as dishonest, men would have represented these Canadian jurors as asking to have "a Minister to preach the Gospel in both languages"; [44] in other words, to have a Protestant minister to proselyte their own people.

We pass over their attempt to apply an old anti-Catholic law which would have excluded the French from all public service and even from the professions of druggist and physician.[45] They repeated their shibboleth of an Assembly—for themselves. Dean F. P. Walton of the McGill Law School, now Director of the Sultanieh School of Law of Cairo, did justice to that selfish request [46] as Murray had done at their attempt to bar Catholics from juries.[47] Now, however, comes the climax of their daring and impertinence. "We represent," they say, "that as the Grand Jury must be considered at present as the only representative of the Colony, they, as British Subjects, have a right to be consulted before any ordinance that may affect the Body that they represent be passed into Law; And as it must happen that taxes be lev'd for the necessary Expenses or Improvements of the Colony, in order to prevent abuses and embezzlement, or wrong application of public money. We propose that the public Accounts be laid before the Grand Jury, at least twice a year to be examined and checked by them." [48] This was viewed by many with well-deserved contempt, and the reply of the justices of peace, October 16, 1764, is a delicious bit of sarcasm,[49] to use Mr. Bradley's words, "snubbing them soundly on every point." [50]

Canadians, the sons of the soil, with a most heroic history, were treated as if they had no rights. They complain

[43] Bradley, *Lord Dorchester*, p. 16. [44] *D. C. H. C.*, p. 159.
[45] *Ibid.*, p. 155. [46] *Canada and Its Provinces*, Vol. III, p. 6.
[47] *D. C. H. C.*, Note, p. 131. [48] *Ibid.*, p. 153.
[49] *Can. Arch.*, 2d Series, Vol. II, p. 251 et seq. [50] *Lord Dorchester*, p. 15.

in a dignified manner. "We have seen with grief," they declare, "our fellow-citizens imprisoned without being heard, and this at a considerable expense, ruinous alike to debtor and creditor; we have seen all the family affairs, which before were settled at slight expense, obstructed by individuals wishing to make them profitable to themselves, who know neither our language nor our customs, and to whom it is only possible to speak with guineas in one's hand." [51] Again, "Fifteen Jurors with the assistance of lawyers have proscribed us as unfit, because of our Religion, for any office in our country; even Surgeons and Apothecaries." [52] Their grievances are endorsed by the Lords Commissioners, who say that the poor Canadians were compelled to entrust their legal interests "to men unacquainted with their language and Customs and who to the greatest ignorance added the greatest rapacity." [53]

Even Haldimand, in 1767, was indignant over the attitude of British settlers. "What a misfortune it is," he said, "that we should not have taken advantage of the good dispositions of Canadians and that laws permit that the pride and hatred of a few individuals could corrupt a whole people that was so well disposed." [54] Mr. Victor Coffin, who finds in the Quebec situation "the absence of material grievances," [55] should read the *Report of the Lords Commissioners* already referred to. "It is not to be wondered that establishments ,so inconsistent with the civil rights of Canadians and so oppressive in their operation, should have given that disgust so strongly, yet so respectfully expressed in their humble address to His Majesty on this occasion; more especially, when in a Presentment of a Grand Jury impanelled at a Quarter Session, they found their religion as illegal; themselves not only proscribed, as incapable of

[51] *D. C. H. C.*, p. 164. [52] *Ibid.*, p. 165. [53] *Ibid.*, p. 266.
[54] *Can. Arch.*, B. series, Vol. VI, *Haldimand to Colonel Robertson*, November 29, 1767, p. 199.
[55] *The Province of Quebec*, p. 355.

the common offices of Society, but also subjected to all the Pains and Penalties inflicted upon Popish Recusants in the Kingdom; and a right claimed by such Grand Jury of being the only representative body of the colony, and of being consulted upon all Measures of Government." [56]

The real men of "character and education of a high order" were the men who penned most of the Canadian documents. Their superiority lay in the fact that, politically, they were in advance of the British settlers who were hardly typical Britons. The political life for which Canadians then pleaded they now have. They asked that "all subjects in the Province without Distinction of Religion may be admitted to any Office, the only basis of selection being that of capacity and personal merit." [57] They appealed to the love of freedom of their King. "Vouchsafe to bestow your favours upon all your subjects in the Province without distinction! Preserve the glorious title of Sovereign of a Free People . . . grant to us, in common with your other subjects, the rights and privileges of citizens of England." [58]

When the Quebec Act was discussed in London the members of Parliament must have had a revelation upon French Canada. They learned of the pitiless treatment of Canadians, "a submissive, quiet people," [59] men of "a perfect submission to the Crown"; [60] that 150,000 British subjects had been excluded from self-government, from positions of honour and profit; [61] that the French *noblesse* had lost all their prerogatives; that all were deprived of their laws; that no Canadian advocate was permitted to plead in the courts; [62] that among the "justices of peace" not one was a Canadian; [63] that of the English justices of peace who had acted "tyranically," not one was suspended

[56] *D. C. H. C.*, p. 266.
[57] *Ibid.*, p. 189.
[58] *Ibid.*, p. 356.
[59] Cavendish, p. 137.
[60] *Ibid.*, p. 160.
[61] *Ibid.*, pp. 113, 119, 160.
[62] *Ibid.*, p. 118.
[63] *Ibid.*, p. 109.

from office; [64] that court expenses had been excessive; [65] that these new British subjects were a law-abiding people; that no real case of capital offence had come before a jury; [66] that few cases of misdemeanour had come for trial; and that the people had been subjected to an ignominious confusion of law and government which was unbearable and demanded reform.

The governors had to wrestle with difficulties arising from the blind overthrow of French jurisprudence, by the imposing of English law and the unworthy officials sent to apply it. Murray had opened common courts in which the French tongue could be used, and these he defended with singular earnestness.[67] The other courts were generally chaotic, judicial Babels, imposing the laws of the conquerors. Cases were argued in English, and, as we have seen, at an enormous cost to the poor victims. Translators were used, but Chief Justice Hey is not certain of their reliability [68] and asserts that, notwithstanding the goodwill of the judges, English law would not work. Carleton and the best legal intelligence were aware that the situation was no longer tenable. The British Government, anxious about the American colonies in which there was great political unrest, realized that concessions must be made, and, at once, to Canadians. Lord North brought the matter before Parliament on May 26, 1774.

The small Anglo-Canadian clan had commercial associates in London who, with that art to organise public opinion in which Anglo-Saxons excel, misled the public to further their purpose. They appealed to a certain patriotic sensibility easily moved in the direction of anti-Catholicism and of economic interest. They had won to their cause members of Parliament, neo-republicans, men suspicious of royal despotic designs, almost all anti-papists. The ques-

[64] *Ibid.*, p. 128. [65] *Ibid.*, p. 102. [66] *Ibid.*, p. 107.
[67] *D. C. H. C.*, p. 150. [68] Cavendish, p. 161.

tion before Parliament was: Shall the 150,000 French Canadians be subjected to English law for the benefit of a small British minority ranging from 1,200 to 2,000? The bill proposed the restitution to the natives of their own laws together with the criminal law of England. John Dunning, later on Lord Ashburton, showed his ignorance of the value of Canada by saying that the best thing to do "would be to give it back to its old masters." [69-70] This is as bad as Voltaire's characterisation of the country as "a few acres of snow."

The opposition maintained that the bill was an unjust one, that "many Englishmen"—the number did not exceed three hundred and sixty—"went to Canada" [71] expecting to enjoy British law promised by the Royal proclamation. The attorney-general maintained that this royal utterance "was purely declaratory" [72] and was not to be interpreted as a law. We have seen already the pretensions of the small set wanting a Parliament to which they would exclusively have been the voters and members. French Canadians would virtually have been outlaws. The bill was the defeat of their purpose. There was a litany of monotonous condemnation of this great Act which, with the examination of witnesses, lasted nine days. With all the cant talk of liberty, these men favoured, with conquered peoples, the policy of the Romans, of the Russians, of the Prussians, and of Napoleon, when the government courageously took a real modern legal and judicial stand. These speakers, often rambling from the question at issue, exhausted the English vocabulary of evil interpretations in characterising the bill; their frequent terms are "English slavery," "despotic government that will make British subjects French slaves," etc.[73]

A good example of this antagonism is that of Edmund

[69-70] *Ibid.*, p. 16. [71] *Ibid.*, pp. 38, 43, 45. [72] *Ibid.*, p. 33.
[73] *Ibid.*, pp. 42, 62, 79, 88, 186, 190, 192, 213, 214, 290.

Burke, who opposed the bill, again and again. At one time he said that he "considered the right of conquest so little, and the right of human nature so much, that the former has very little consideration with him." [74] After this one would expect that he will demand justice for the Canadians, but no. Some one had said that an Englishman can beat two Frenchmen. "I do not know," he continues, "that an Englishman can beat two Frenchmen; but I know that, in this case, he ought to be more valuable than twenty Frenchmen if you estimate him a freeman and the Frenchmen as slaves." [75] This orator views the quiet, orderly, loyal natives as "slaves" and the small, ignorant, crooked, troublesome mercantile clique of Canada as freemen.

There was also attacked, with singular violence, the proposal to continue, to the Catholic clergy, the collection of their tithes—from Catholics only—as they had done in the past. For the opposition this was the "establishment of popery," [76] while it was merely the continuance to the clergy of their old historic rights. Almost all resisted the restoration of French laws because that in them, in civil matters, there was no place for juries.[77] Canadians did not wish any. The nobles were unwilling to submit their contentions to inferiors [78] and the people preferred to have their property safeguarded by competent judges rather than by barbers and shoemakers.[79] Similar bitter criticisms were uttered in the matter of the *habeas corpus,* and assertions were made that, by the bill, the King could issue *lettres de cachet,* and thereby destroy the liberty of his subjects. They magnified imaginary potential evils none of which ever happened.

The opposition ever misrepresented the real question at stake, but the ablest defenders of the best British legal

[74] *Ibid.,* p. 223.
[75] *Ibid.,* p. 88.
[76] *Ibid.,* pp. 41, 79, 209, 223, 237, 251.
[77] *Ibid.,* pp. 152, 173, 192, 207, 210, 256, 267, 270, 274, 277, 278, 280.
[78] *Ibid.,* p. 151.
[79] *Ibid.,* p. 284.

traditions insisted that the real issue was not English but Canadian. "I look upon the Canadians," said Attorney-General Thurlow, later on Lord Thurlow, "being the most ancient subjects, as first entitled to our protection; next come the English inhabitants, and lastly, the English merchants." [80] Charles Fox expressed the same sentiment. "I am free to say that Canadians are my first object; and I maintain that their happiness and their liberties are the proper objects; and ought to be the leading principle of this bill." [81] "I think," says Solicitor-General Wedderburne, "the sentiments of the Canadians ought to be much attended to, in every regulation we make; that this is the polar star to which all the parts of the bill ought to be directed." [82] Lord Cavendish, seeing the unreasonable spirit of the opposition, said that "something should be settled with as tender a view to the inhabitants of that country as possible. It is shocking to think of a hundred thousand persons transferred like deer in a park." [83]

The man who went to the heart of the question was Mr. Edward Thurlow. To those who wished to make a blank of French laws at the Cession he said, "I wish gentlemen would go back to the proclamation of 1763, and I would ask them from what expression it is, that either Canadians can discover, or English lawyers advance, that the laws of Canada were all absolutely repealed, and that a new system of justice, as well as a new system of constitution, was by that instrument introduced." [84] Giving a remarkable construction of the legal change in its most general and widest aspects he says, "My notion is that it is a change of sovereignty. You acquire a new people; but you do not state the rights of conquest, as giving you a right to goods and chattels. That would be slavery and extreme misery. In order to make the acquisition either available or secure,

[80] *Ibid.*, p. 266. [81] *Ibid.*, p. 246. [82] *Ibid.*, p. 274.
[83] *Ibid.*, p. 44. [84] *Ibid.*, p. 31.

this seems the line that ought to be followed—you ought to change those laws which relate to French sovereignty and in their place substitute laws which should relate to the new sovereign; but with respect to all other laws, all other customs and institutions whatever, which are indifferent to the state of the subject and sovereign, humanity, justice, and wisdom equally conspire to advise you to leave them to the people just as they were." [85]

The Catholics, according to this, were entitled to all the privileges which were theirs before the Conquest. Here, again, the attorney-general stood like a rock for justice. "Tithes," he states, "among other dues and estates of the Church, were preserved by the capitulation, were confirmed by the treaty of peace, and in point of right belonged to them." [86] While so speaking he was most prudent and asserted that the partial introduction of French laws applied only to the different parts of the country occupied "by French settlers and French settlers only." [87] His discriminating spirit detected, what very few had been able to notice, that French laws had been modified by the development of a new ethnology and new environments. "So much as was carried over," he points out, "appears to have received considerable alteration from the legislature which the Kings of France established there." [88] That is evident.

King's Councillor Ambler, referring to English law, asks if it "would be politic to force that particular form *of law* upon one hundred thousand persons contrary to their inclinations" [89] to satisfy the little oligarchy of conquest, thereby making Canadians exiles in their own country. The attorney-general asserts, with great earnestness, that such an act would be "the grossest and absurdest tyranny that a conquering nation ever practised over a country." [90] Those men of the opposition could not "have afflicted any country

[85] *Ibid.*, p. 30. [86] *Ibid.*, p. 68. [87] *Ibid.*, p. 25.
[88] *Ibid.*, p. 27. [89] *Ibid.*, p. 280. [90] *Ibid.*, p. 29.

with a greater curse than an intricate system of laws which they (the Canadians) could not understand the terms or meaning of." [91] "It would be a harder act of tyranny and power than any one could invent." [92] Solicitor-General Wedderburne took the same stand. "I do maintain that it would have been most unjust to have relapsed into the barbarity of ages; and this we should have done if we had, with a rough stroke, said to the Canadians, that the laws of Canada should be totally obliterated." [93] This was also the position of Lord Clare [94] and the sentiment of the best British opinion in the Parliament. The bill was passed by 56 votes against 20.[95]

According to most British writers it saved Canada to the British Crown. For Dean Walton it prevented Britain from throwing "the French in the arms of the American revolutionaries." [96] For Mr. Duncan McArthur "it manifests a complete change in the attitude of the British Government towards Canada. The proclamation of 1763 was the expression of a policy which contemplated the anglicizing of New France." Now "Canada would remain British by becoming French, and could be used as an instrument for subduing colonies. In a resort to arms the province of Quebec occupied a position of the greatest strategic importance in any action against the southern colonies. With the loyalty of Canada assured French Canadian troops could be poured into New England colonies and insurrection soon suppressed." [97] For Dr. Riddell "the policy of conceding to the French Canadians their 'ancient laws,' privileges, and customs was not only what 'benevolence and humanity recommended' but also it was 'consonant with the soundest policy.'" [98] The King gave his "assent to the Bill; observing rightly that 'it was founded

[91] *Ibid.*, p. 32. [92] *Ibid.*, p. 83. [93] *Ibid.*, p. 52.
[94] *Ibid.*, p 213. [95] *Ibid.*, p. 296.
[96] *Canada and Its Provinces*, Vol. III, p. 6. [97] *Ibid.*, p. 44.
[98] *The Rise of Ecclesiastical Control in Quebec*, p. 155.

on the clearest principles of justice and humanity.' "[99] That is true, like truth.

Admitting that England was hereby preparing herself for the defence of her colonies, she was, at this point, breaking with the harsh methods of conquest which continued with Russia, Prussia, and other European states. There was in it something of the assertions of *les droits de l'homme* which in different ways aroused the American colonies and made the French Revolution. This Quebec Act gave to the natives the deepest satisfaction,[100] but it excited the small English minority. In Montreal they attempted to set the town on fire.[101] In all the contentions between Canadians and the colonists a small dominant caste has always advocated, and, when able, practised the method of violence.

Canadians were loyal. They could truthfully write to their King: "For more than six months we have had Canadian Officers in the Upper Country, and a number of Volunteers aiding to repulse the Enemies of the Nation";[102] that is, to put down the Indian Mutiny. During the War of American Independence, when the greater part of the Quebec British sided with the Congress in Philadelphia,[103] the majority of Canadians were actively loyal. Upon this point one may depend upon the statements of German officers whose frequent references to Canadians[104] show that they took an efficient part in the conflict. The clergy urged the support of the King and the priests, all but one, declined granting absolution to any one who had aided the invaders. They were refused burial in consecrated ground.[105] Loyalty was regarded as a religious duty. M.

[99] Cavendish, p. iv. [100] P. Bender, *Old and New Canada*, p. 63.
[101] Bourinot, *Canada Under British Rule*, p. 48. [102] *D. C. H. C.*, p. 161.
[103] Garneau, Vol. II, p. 438.
[104] Stone and Hund, *Letters of Brunswick and Hessian Officers During the American Revolution*, pp. 30, 55, 79, 93, 97, 122.
[105] De Gaspé, *Les anciens Canadiens*, p. 243.

de Gaspé's grandfather wrote to his son, "Serve thou thy English Sovereign with as much zeal, devotion, and loyalty as I have served the French Monarch and receive my blessing."[106]

To the few Anglo-Canadians who have sought to cast doubt upon their fidelity we may oppose Laurier's words, "What would have seemed incredible before, British authority on this Continent was saved by men who had been vanquished on the Plains of Abraham."[107] Mr. William H. Moore most energetically asserts the same truth. "Of the fourteen colonies which Great Britain had in America, at the beginning of the last quarter of the eighteenth century, thirteen were English speaking and Protestant; only one was French speaking and Catholic, and only that one was loyal."[108] "Canada is to-day British because French Canadians refused to have it something else."[109] Mr. Arthur Hawkes asserts the same fact. "The British-French refused to break this allegiance, and because they refused, Canada is British and not republican to-day."[110] According to many historians, Canadians "saved Canada to England."

The Act of 1791 was for them the beginning of a potential self-government, but the territories which they had opened to civilisation by the greatest heroism were divided. The English had Upper Canada, and these lands, which morally belonged to them, were indiscriminately given to Britons, and yet the French ever showed their goodwill in emergencies. When the President of the United States, August 12, 1807, assumed a threatening attitude, an appeal was made to the militia; the Canadian response was splendid.[111] Even while Craig treated them so cruelly, ten of them were serving as officers in the British army.[112] As soon as it was

[106] De Gaspé, *Les anciens Canadiens*, p. 176.
[107] *Discours*, p. 438.
[108] *The Clash*, p. 255.
[109] *Ibid.*, p. 278.
[110] *The Birthright*, p. 7.
[111] Perrault, Vol. II, p. 117.
[112] J. E. Roy, *Royal Society*, III, Vol. V, p. 113.

known, in 1812, that war with the United States was declared, the gentry, *voyageurs*, and other Canadians were up in arms, encouraged by the tactful and gentle conduct of Sir George Prevost.[113] Captain Robert, at the capture of Machilimakinac, was attended by one hundred and eighty Canadians and *voyageurs* under Toussaint Pothier.[114] Lieutenant Rolette captured the schooner *Cayahoga* with the stores and baggage of General Hull,[115] and in Quebec, the French were second to none in patriotism and military service.[116] The demonstration of their courage and daring was made at the battle of Châteaugay—one of the most famous exploits of the war—when 300 of them routed a force of 3,000 Americans.

[113] La Terrière, *A Political and Historical Account of Canada*, p. 36.
[114] Christie, Vol. II, p. 20; Lady Edgar, *General Brock*, p. 210.
[115] Lady Edgar, *General Brock*, p. 27.
[116] *Ibid.*, p. 243.

CHAPTER V

THE UPRISING OF 1837

THE spirit of a relative amity and friendliness between the two peoples during the French Revolution did not please the colonial clique. *The Gazette* of Quebec, founded in 1764, and *The Gazette* of Montreal, in 1778, though strongly British, were too moderate to please men of an extreme type. In 1805 they started the Quebec *Mercury* which soon began to stir up animosities.[1] The paper, disapproved of by moderate Britons, was filled with much material of an aggressive character. Its spirit is reflected in the pages of Christie's history which is so harsh and unfair as to irritate an impartial Briton today. It not only abused France, which was natural enough at the time, but constantly hurled invectives at the French Canadians. In May, 1808, it suggested, sarcastically, that an elementary school should be established for the members of the Legislative Assembly of Quebec to teach them reading and writing.[2] Upper Canada ought to have had such a school sixteen years later according to E. A. Talbot [3] and thirty years later, if we believe Mrs. Jameson, for some members of the Toronto Assembly.

Le Canadien, called into existence by this provoking publication, gave, at the start, positive proofs of the loyalty of the editors to Great Britain, and of their admiration for British liberty.[4] At the same time, they defended them-

[1] J. E. Roy, *Royal Society,* III, Vol. V, p. 99.
[2] Lieutenant-Colonel Cruickshank, *Royal Society* III, Vol. III, p. 67.
[3] Vol. II, p. 118.
[4] Abbé Roy, *Nos Origines littéraires,* p. 326; Lareau, *Mélanges,* pp. 25-30.

selves and their people pointedly with mordant wit and cutting satire. The spirit of irony and sarcasm of Pascal and Voltaire lashed mercilessly the carpet-baggers of the administration and their defenders of the *Mercury*. Some of their headings, such as *Mercurielles contre le Mercure,*[5] are witty and caustic. The clique, incapable of sustaining too many shocks of wholesome truth-telling, pressed Governor Craig to stop, by force, an agitation which they themselves had created. Sharp rebuffs of the acts and blunders of these men were here, like similar acts of the reformers in Toronto, construed as disloyalty and treason against Great Britain. Governor Craig started a repression and had six deputies imprisoned, but was forced to release them as he could not substantiate his charges. His "blundering patriotism," to use an expression of Professor Stephen Leacock, did more to embitter feelings on both sides than the deeds of any other man except, perhaps, his secretary, Herman W. Ryland.

Whatever may have been the qualifications which brought him to the attention of the Colonial Office, Craig, as governor, was absolutely unfit for the task with which he was entrusted, if we judge him by one of his shallow, dull, most prejudiced, and hateful dispatches to Lord Liverpool, concerning French Canadians,[6] contrasting, in its partisan tenour and contempt, with reports of all British travellers in Canada. His mind had been poisoned by his secretary whose correspondence was that of a religious monomaniac. Voicing his feelings he said, "I have long laid it down as a principle . . . by every possible means which prudence can suggest, gradually to undermine the authority of the Roman Catholic priests." [7] He had the pretension to assert in one of his letters that if his plans were followed "the country would become Protestant." No religion has ever made lasting gains that way.

[5] Lareau, p. 28. [6] Christie, Vol. V, p. 391. [7] *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 73.

There was something small and petty in the course pursued by the governor, his secretary, and their group. As we have already said, Bishop Mountain, with a few Anglicans under him, was called "The Lord Bishop of Quebec"; and Bishop Plessis, with his supervision of an immense diocese, they called "M. Plessis," "Rev. J. O. Plessis," or, simply, "Plessis", who, in a pastoral letter to his people, called himself "Bishop of Quebec." [8] Ryland asks what penalty should be inflicted for such a wrong? The Anglican bishop writes to the governor's secretary, "I see no reason why an order should not be immediately transmitted from home, prohibiting the assumption of the title of 'Bishop of Quebec' by any prelate professing the religion of the Church of Rome, and further directing that no ecclesiastic be acknowledged as Superintendent of the Romish Church." [9] This last title had been admitted by the English government.[10] Later on Ryland had the bitter disappointment of having Lord Bathurst call the venerable prelate "Roman Catholic Bishop of Quebec." [11] That narrow-minded man had the further vexation to receive from Sir George Prevost, after his arrival in Canada, a letter in which he said, "I found the country in the hands of the priests, and at Quebec that *prelatical pride* was not confined to the Catholic Bishop." [12]

One almost shudders at the oppressive spirit of governors such as Haldimand, who had La Terrière arrested and kept in seclusion for three or four years without having an opportunity to prove his innocence.[13] Among the most tyrannical acts of Craig was his illegal seizure of *Le Canadien* and those connected with it. Pierre Bédard was imprisoned under charges of "treasonable practices." He had criticised the governor and his partisans, but within the

[8] Christie, *Ibid.*, p. 199. [9] *Ibid.*, p. 83.
[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 82, 127. [11] *Ibid.*, p. 312. [12] *Ibid.*, p. 281.
[13] Pierre de Sales La Terrière, Sr., *Mémoires de ses traverses*, pp. 104, 118, 121.

range of reasonableness and truth. The columns of *Le Canadien* hardly contained a paragraph which suggested disloyalty, and which, to-day, would not pass for a form of journalism superior to that of the *Mercury*. Without approving all that was printed in this French paper, a fair-minded investigator is obliged to admit that it represents faithfully the situation in French Canada, as a man with the British constitutional spirit would view it. This unwise representative of the King kept Bédard incarcerated for over one year, refused him a trial, and finally had him expelled almost by force from the jail.[14]

Governor Craig left behind him unsavoury memories in the minds of the natives, though he was popular with the violent oligarchy. It must be said, however, that towards the end of his administration and of his life he realized that he had been misled.[15] The men behind *Le Canadien* were thorough-going parliamentarians, skilfully using logic to defend their positions, quoting Blackstone, Locke, and other British authorities as to the rights of Parliament; but that was of no consequence for the virtual dictator or for his place-holders. These natives who, according to Pitt, had been granted a constitution of which it had been said that it was "the express image and transcript of the British Constitution" [16] had been subjected to a régime arbitrarily taking possession of all the organs of their life—and that brutally. Ryland did no end of harm in this. "The darling project of his heart," says Christie, "was to Anglify, but by means compulsory and distasteful to them, the French Canadian people, who, having no wish to be Anglified by any means, would not be so 'by compulsion.'" [17] Ryland was not alone in his views, which in fact he only shared in common with a class determined to maintain an ascendancy

[14] Dionne, *Pierre Bédard et ses fils*, p. 114.
[15] De Gaspé, *Mémoires*, p. 347.
[16] Bradshaw, p. 33.
[17] Christie, Vol. VI, p. 5.

as long as they could in the government, and secure to themselves, their partisans, and their protégés 'the sweets of office.' " [18]

Some of the governors thought that everything was permitted to them. The Duke of Richmond spoke to the members of the Assembly "as if they were serfs." [19] There were those who, according to Christie, deemed themselves "something more privileged than the sovereign." [20] In French Canada, as in Ontario and Nova Scotia, lieutenant-governors exercised powers under commission far in excess of those which any British King would have dreamed of assuming.[21] The Executive and the Legislative Councils were mere tools of the governors, and the bestowers of favours to the British minority which, according to Professor Walton, "had always governed Lower Canada." [22] Of the second body Durham says, "The majority was always composed of members of the party which conducted the executive government; the clerks of each Council were members of the other; and in fact the Legislative Council was practically hardly anything but a veto in the hands of public functionaries on all the acts of that popular branch of the legislature in which they were always in a minority. This veto they used without much scruple." [23] John Stuart Mill, calling attention to the misgoverning features of the administration of Canada, traced them directly to the irresponsible constitution of the Legislative Council,[24] "representing neither the English nor the French population, neither the colony nor the mother country," [25] and "is the organ of no interests but those of the jobbing oligarchy." [26]

A peculiarity of these men is that they "looked upon

[18] *Ibid.*, p. x.
[19] F. B. Tracy, *The Tercentenary History of Canada*, p. 788.
[20] Vol. III, p. 2.
[21] J. W. Longley, *Joseph Howe*, p. 17.
[22] *Canada and Its Provinces*, Vol. III, p. 12.
[23] *Report*, p. 58.
[24] *Westminster Review*, 1838, p. 517.
[25] *Ibid.*, 1839, p. 249.
[26] *Ibid.*, 1838, p. 522.

French Canadians as a conquered people whose tenacity in clinging to their national customs and to French laws and language deserved the utmost reprobation." "By a somewhat humorous exercise of imagination," says Dean Walton, "they regarded themselves and not the French Canadians as the true children of the soil." [27] "They thought that the natives were born to be governed and not to govern." [28] In the minds of the British party "the French Canadians still figured as a conquered people whose claims to political ascendancy were equivalent to dishonesty." [29] By their peculiar psychology—it had not changed since the Quebec Act—they resented that those most concerned did not accept this view of things.

Their writers seem to ignore the great and illustrious history of the French Canadians, their heroic memories, crystallized in their consciousness as an inexhaustible source of potential energy and national yearning; nor are those Gallophobes aware of the obvious superiority of the French over the masses which settled in the other provinces. They ever speak of the ignorance of the natives. Indeed, that of the habitants was great, like that of all the rural classes of Canada, but the colleges of the lower province had given a better and more cultural training to the leading class. They had men of education like Joseph Bouchette—a large-minded man who was honoured with the friendship of the Duke of Kent—and we owe much of our knowledge of the geography of the country to him. He was one of the founders of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts and Sciences, and first president of the Literary and Historical Society founded by Lord Dalhousie. He wrote the *Description topographique de la province du Bas-Canada,* 1815, and, among other works, *The British Dominions in*

[27] *Canada and Its Provinces,* Vol. III, pp. 9, 11.
[28] Sir E. W. Watkins, *Canada and the States,* p. 7.
[29] Leacock, *Baldwin, La Fontaine and Hinks,* p. 17.

North America, and his *Topographical Dictionary of Lower Canada,* 1832. La Terrière published his noble plea in behalf of his countrymen, *A Political and Historical Account of Lower Canada,* 1830. Had Upper Canadians in 1833 a man with a record like that of J. F. Perrault, who in that year published his *Histoire du Canada,* or like the educator Meilleur, who gave his kinsmen a scientific text-book, remarkable for the time, *Leçons de Chymie?* During this critical period G. B. Faribault astonished bibliophiles in Europe by his *Catalogue d'ouvrages sur l'histoire de l'Amerique et en particulier sur celle du Canada,* 1837. They had writers such as Louis Plamondon, J. D. Merlet, Michel Bibaud, Dominique Mondelet, D. B. Viger, A. N. Morin, Isidore Bédard, F. X. Garneau, N. Aubin, George E. Cartier, J. E. Turcotte, and journalists, orators, historians, and poets. Even nearly half a century before the Rising they had members in the Academy of Sciences of Paris, an agricultural society, publishing papers for farmers, and, almost on the morrow of that event, James S. Buckingham calmly states that French newspapers are superior to those of the English.[30] Durham states that he found the greater amount of refinement, of speculative thought and of knowledge among the French.[31]

Compare the utterances of early British colonists in the *Constitutional Documents* of Messrs. Shortt and Doughty with those of French remonstrants, or the conversation of Attorney-General Sewell with Bishop Plessis; [32] the paper of the Sulpician Roux to the secretary of the Duke of Richmond upon the estates of his society; [33] the *Mémoire* of the French people of Canada to Lord Bathurst upon their hardships in 1814,[34] and the best expressions of the French Canadian mind with those of their opponents and

[30] *Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick,* p. 248.
[31] *Report,* p. 29.
[32] Christie, Vol. VI, p. 74.
[33] *Ibid.,* p. 370.
[34] *Ibid.,* p. 313.

their literary, philosophical, and often legal superiority is apparent. Their élite had mental cultivation. The *Esprit des lois* of Montesquieu with its luminous interpretation of the British Constitution and of English institutions was there before the Cession.[35] Francis Joseph Cugnet, in spite of the cruel ostracism resting upon French lawyers, enjoyed the confidence of Murray and of Carleton, took part in the elaboration of the *Extrait des Messieurs,* 1773, and later on wrote the *Traité des Anciennes Lois Coutumes et Usages de la colonie du Canada,* 1775. Delome's *Constitution of England* was already translated in 1771 [36] and Robert Burns' *Justice of Peace,* and the *Lex parliamentaria,* were placed within the reach of French Canadians by J. F. Perrault. In 1827 Jacques Labrie published in French *The First Rudiments of the British Constitution* of Brooke, and five years later Henri des Rivières-Beaubien gave his volume upon the civil laws of Lower Canada.[37]

There was among the élite a complete reversal of their admiration for French political absolutism. Panet, the first president of the Assembly, Pierre Bédard, and Joseph Louis Papineau studied the British Constitution and brought many of their kinsmen to share their enthusiasm for it. This was the case with such men, well prepared for parliamentary service, as the elder Papineau, De Lotbinière, Jean Thomas Taschereau, Blanchet, François Perrault, Etienne Parent, D. Viger, and De Gaspé—men of education and character, who doubtless made blunders, but were earnest and deserved even then the compliment paid later on to their descendants, by Lord Dufferin, that they were "more parliamentary than the English themselves." [38-39] It was their education—their British political education—that created a relentless opposition to the unrighteous régime.

The wrongs which the Lower Canadians endured were,

[35] Fauteux, p. 17. [36] Hopkins, *The Progress,* p. 328.
[37] Dionne, *Les trois comédies du Statu Quo,* p. 131. [38-39] Stewart, p. 422.

as a whole, similar to those inflicted upon Upper Canadians and Nova Scotians and created a similar complaint.[40] This is recognised by Durham. "I found," he says, "in all these provinces a form of government so nearly the same—institutions generally so similar, and occasionally so connected—and interests, feelings, habits so much in common, etc." [41] An honest administration of the existing constitution would have satisfied them all.[42] There was a signal parallelism, not to say identity, between the acts of partisans of the oligarchy of the provinces; the same unscrupulous ways of placemen which could not have been borne longer by men with a spark of manliness; only in Quebec the clique could appeal, and did, to the brutal instincts of the lower elements of the British masses. When the natives, discouraged—they had been under this régime for three-quarters of a century—by the unfairness and partiality of the councils, asked to have a representative in London, Upper Canada made a similar request. In both provinces this was considered disloyal and almost revolutionary. In French Canada Christie was unseated three times by the Assembly and three times Mackenzie was refused his right to take oath in the Upper Canadian Assembly.[43] The protests of French Canadians against judges sitting in the House of Assembly were heard also in Upper Canada.[44] The French, seeing the hopelessness of the situation, so long as the Legislative Council was nominated by the Crown —that is, in reality, by the governor—asked for an elective Council. Upper Canadians did the same and later on had it.[45]

In a most unphilosophical manner Anglo-Canadian writers laid stress upon incidents of French Canadian agitation, instead of showing the same currents of popular

[40] Lindsey, pp. 21, 242; Buckingham and Ross, p. 63; Langley, p. 16.
[41] *Report*, p. 2. [42] Burwash, p. 112. [43] Lindsey, p. 242.
[44] Edgard, *Ten Years in Upper Canada*, p. 22. [45] G. Smith, p. 181.

dissatisfaction in the provinces. Were the scathing invectives of Howe and Mackenzie less violent than the tirades of Papineau? Were they not the poignant cries of political distress? Yet when the reformers, led by Mackenzie, went to extremes they were abandoned by such men as Baldwin and Ryerson; and, similarly, with the French Canadians, when Papineau became dangerous, Bédard, Quesnel, Cuvilier, and men like them refused to follow him. The militia of Upper Canada was loyal and so was that of Quebec. The Church of England was a unit against the reformers; and the Catholic Church, backed by an overwhelming majority of the population, was against the patriots. The ninety-two Resolutions of Papineau, the twelve Resolutions of Howe, the eleven drawn by Baldwin, expanded to thirty-one by Mackenzie, and his indictment sent to Sir John Colborne with its one hundred counts against the administration, though different in form, were all the expression of a political despair, and really desired the same thing.[46] Race had nothing to do with the contention, but the political system was at the root of all. French Canadians would have been satisfied had they been allowed, like New Brunswick,[47] to manage their own revenue. Nova Scotia seemed more moderate in her demands, but was guided by an uncommon man, Joseph Howe, and had suffered less than the others. Her poverty had drawn fewer parasites, and, furthermore, the large body of troops in Halifax was also of some consequence.

There was a general attempt to represent the French as restless, turbulent, and unreasonable. But were they wrong when they accused Receiver-General Caldwell, a defaulter to the amount of $1,000,000, long shielded in office by Lord Dalhousie and by the Executive Council,[48] or when they protested that a part of the Jesuits' estates had been turned

[46] Durham, p. 107. [47] *Ibid.*, p. 139. [48] Christie, Vol. III, p. 191.

into a fund for secret service? [49] Were they wrong, in 1830, for objecting to an Executive Council, where eight of its nine members were connected with the administration [50] or when they protested because of the twenty-three members of the Legislative Council, twelve held office under the Crown, and fifteen of them were born in the United Kingdom,[51] all of these nominated in London for life? Were they wrong when they objected to salaries being paid to a lieutenant-governor and to an auditor of patents when away from the province where they should have been to perform their work? Were they wrong when they objected to paying pensions to dead men? [52] Were they less reasonable in their complaints than the English in the city of Quebec who protested because the salary of the master of the Royal Grammar School of the city was still being paid, and likewise the rent for the building, when the school had been closed for six or seven years? [53] Were they wrong when, with British Canadians, they clamoured against richly rewarded sinecures; against the cumulation, by one man, of the position of aide-de-camp of the governor, road administrator, member of the Court of Appeals, commissary of the estate of the Jesuits and the Executive Council? [54]

Were they unreasonable when they complained that the St. Lawrence was open only for the British, and that they were prohibited from buying certain articles, especially tea, from the United States? [55] Were they wrong when they remonstrated that rich England derived no less than $50,000 per annum from the post-office of the colony? [56] Were they justified when they protested that their best men of the Assembly, good British citizens, were kept out of the Legislative Council or the Executive? Were they not right in declaring that these organizations, made up of placemen,

[49] Durham, p. 96. [50] *Ibid.*, p. 291. [51] *Ibid.*, p. 290.
[52] Perrault, *Abrégé de l'histoire du Canada*, Vol. III, p. 31.
[53] J. Buckingham, p. 221. [54] Garneau, Vol. III, p. 304.
[55] Durham, p. 133. [56] *Ibid.*, p. 101.

could block all the legislation of the Assembly, and that the so-called self-government of these French British subjects was only a travesty and a farce? It would be unwise to have the civil service of a country rest upon proportion of population, but were French Canadians so absurd when they grumbled that, with a population hardly a quarter of the whole the British had sixty-two important positions and they, the French Canadians, three times more numerous, had only eighty; when in the courts of Commissioners of Small Causes there were one hundred and eighty-nine British and only one hundred and fifty-one French; when of the $358,850 disbursed to public servants the sons of the conquerors had $290,000 and the French $68,000; British judges had $140,000 and the French only $40,000? [57] In reality the so-called "exact copy" of the British Constitution, by the abuses of the administration, had really disfranchised the French population to which Pitt had wished to grant British liberty. In practice, their constitution, even before the Rising, had been made of no avail.

Durham had asserted again and again that they were shut out of all privileges, that the best educated French were excluded from government honours—that was not new; Lord Dorchester and many others had already protested against it, and that British officers exhibited toward them an irritating "exclusiveness of demeanour." Using euphemisms he speaks of "a great mismanagement," of a "vicious system of government." This had been so great that a large portion of the purely English population had been found constantly voting with the majority of the Assembly against what they called the "British party," [58] "a party endangering public tranquillity by the violence of its conduct" and its "unjust favouritism." [59] The province had endured "the vexations of this great misrule." [60] This

[57] Garneau, Vol. III, p. 300. [58] *Report*, p. 10; Garneau, Vol. III, p. 307.
[59] *Report*, p. 22. [60] *Ibid.*, p. 70.

system of government "is a mockery and a source of confusion." [61] He condemns "a gross favouritism . . . in the disposal of public lands" to Anglo-Canadians.[62] However, but this he does not say, the great evil was not so much the form of administration, as the carpet-baggers from England, who used it for the domination of the natives and for their own rapacious purpose.

In the discussions of the times English merchants complain of the obstacles to their acquisition of wealth, but E. A. Talbot, one of the best educated Britons who wrote upon the Canadas, says, "Within the last twenty years many have acquired large fortunes in Montreal from very low beginnings. . . ." [63] These parvenus posed as the representatives of England. According to Durham "The labourers, whom emigration introduced, contained a number of very ignorant, turbulent, and demoralized persons, whose conduct and manners alike revolted the well-ordered and courteous natives of the same class." [64] The main body of the English population, "consisting of hardy farmers and humble mechanics composing a very independent, not very manageable, and sometimes a rather turbulent democracy. . . ." "Hostility" against French Canadians "is most strongly developed among the humblest and the rudest body," those the least educated.[65] After the clash of 1837 Lord Gosford said, in Parliament "There are, especially in Montreal and neighbourhood, English residents to whom liberal and independent men ought to be hostile, and whose acts and conduct have been characterized by a spirit of domination upon all the population of French origin; they have always aspired to have the power and patronage of the country. It is to them that one must ascribe the troubles which have just happened." [66]

[61] *Ibid.*, p. 56. [62] *Ibid.*, p. 149. [63] Vol. II, p. 283.
[64] *Report*, p. 23. [65] *Ibid.*, p. 15.
[66] Quoted from Garneau, Vol. III. p. 354.

Robert Christie, not overfriendly to French Canadians, in the blunt way with which he often wrote against them in the *Mercury,* represents the government of that day as follows: "It was guided, or rather misguided, to speak more aptly, by a few rapacious, overbearing, and irresponsible officials, without stake or other connection with the country than their offices; having no sympathy with the mass of the inhabitants or community of interests and feelings with them, nor other claim or pretension to the people's confidence and respect, than such as their places together with the monopoly of the public treasury afforded them. They lorded it, nevertheless, over the people upon whose substance they existed, and by whom, far from being confided in, they were generally hated. . . . Servants of the government, they seemed to imagine themselves princes among the natives and inhabitants, upon whom they affected to look down, estranging them as far as they could from all direct intercourse, or intimacy, except through themselves, with the governor, whose confidence, no less than the treasury it was their policy to monopolise, and to keep him as a conveniency in their own hands." [67]

Again we have a picture of the real status of the representative of the King. "The governor, however unconscious of it he may have been, really was in the hands of, and ruled by, a clique of officials rioting on the means of the country, yet desiring nothing better than the privilege of tyrannising it, and who, however obsequious to him in appearance, were nevertheless his masters. The government, in fact, was a bureaucracy, the governor himself little better than a hostage, and the people looked upon and treated as serfs and vassals, by the official lords." [68] Some of these governors were "domineering pro-consuls." [69] The eminent British jurist, Frederick Parker Walton, summed

[67] History of Canada, Vol. I, p. 348.
[68] *Ibid.,* p. 350.
[69] Leacock, *Baldwin, La Fontaine, Hinks,* p. 350.

up the situation as follows: "The governor may have doubted sometimes whether the French were as black as they were painted, but he ended by feeling that as the King's representative it was his duty to support those who, whatever their prejudices might be, were undeniably devoted heart and soul to the British connection." [70]

French Canadians were far from blameless. Men like Papineau, who, at an earlier period, were most loyal subjects, seeing the apparent deadlock and hopelessness of the situation, went to unwise extremes. They smarted at the thought that the government of their people was in the hands of inferior foreign time-servers. They had erratic political rhetoricians with no sense of practical ends. When, in 1831, Lord Goodrich proposed concessions, they rejected them. Garneau calls this the great blunder of the Assembly.[71] This opinion is now largely accepted. They expelled Robert Christie three times, because through him several French justices of the peace were unjustly revoked.[72] The Eastern townships were not adequately represented.[73] The political leaders of Quebec were not generous in the division of the proceeds from the customs with Upper Canada.[74] They were much criticised for a tax which they levied upon immigrants who had to be helped in various ways, immigrants coming to swell the ranks of British competitors hostile to them. For a long time they refused to have a land registry office, not realizing its importance. They opposed a bankruptcy law, from the traditional moral consciousness that one dollar due demands the payment of one hundred cents. As a whole their ethical motives were noble.

Their prominent leaders resented more keenly the wrongs

[70] *Canada and Its Provinces*, Vol. III, p. 12. [71] Vol. III, p. 272.
[72] *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 240, 249, 311, 474; Vol. IV, p. 36.
[73] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 390; Vol. III, pp. 14, 296.
[74] Durham, p. 228; Bourinot, *C. under B. R.*, p. 132; David, *L'Union des deux Canadas*, p. 316.

which they endured and, perhaps, at this point they differed from the reformers of Upper Canada. Here these men were in violent opposition to the Tories. "Few of them," says Principal W. L. Grant, "thought of responsible government as meaning more than turning out the compact and putting in the popular favourites of the day." [75] Already, in 1808, Pierre Bédard had advocated the good doctrine of responsible ministers with seats in Parliament.[76] In 1830 Pierre de Sales La Terrière speaks of the need of having "responsible rulers." [77] French Canadians were then a unit upon this.[78] The Colonial Office asserted that the responsible system was at variance with the relations which must exist between the colonies and the metropolis. "Responsible government? That is impossible," says T. R. Preston, a British official. "The very essence of government, being independence, is of itself virtually at issue with colonial relations; and hence, inherently possessing a corrosive tendency, must inevitably, unless surrounded by efficient safeguards, precipitate separation." [79] He adds, speaking of the French Canadians, "They should be kept under." They were "under" and there was the rub.

One recoils from the political ethics of such men. "Great Britain," this gentleman says, "is the rightful possessor of Lower Canada and therefore may do what she likes with it." [80] "It is impossible to concede to the natives the control of their affairs" [81] because of their "semi-barbarism" and of the fact that they are "a people besottedly ignorant and blindly passive." [82] Yes, a people whose moral worth had been recognised by Murray, Carleton, Weld,[83] Colonel Fran-

[75] *History of Canada,* p. 185; Adam Shortt, *Lord Sydenham,* p. 105.
[76] De Celles, *Canada and Its Provinces,* Vol. III, p. 120.
[77] *A Political and Historical Account of Lower Canada,* p. 4.
[78] Shortt, *Lord Sydenham,* p. 117.
[79] *Three Years' Residence in Canada,* Vol. I, p. 196.
[80] *Ibid.,* p. 114. [81] *Ibid.,* p. 122. [82] *Ibid.,* p. 253.
[83] *Travels Through the States of North America,* Vol. I, p. 339.

cis Hall,[84] Professor Benjamin Silliman of Yale University,[85] William Newham Blane,[86] Captain Basil Hall,[87] and by many others—a people that, notwithstanding their tragic history and economic disadvantages, had founded six colleges, and important philanthropic institutions worthy of great admiration; people with such lofty political ideals that ultimately they were appreciated all over the British Empire. One is not astonished to hear John Stuart Mill speaking of French Canadians as "this people so calumniated." [88]

Messrs. John Molson, Jr. and John Quinlan of the Constitutional Association, opponents of the French, say "Their claims to pass in review the salaries of public officers by an annual civil list, voted by items, would, if acceded to, lead to a disorganization of government, and ultimately render judges and other public functionaries the instruments of political animosity." [89] This is refuted by the experience of all British colonies in which the principles advocated by French Canadians were subsequently introduced. Mr. John Castell Hopkins, disregarding the concrete facts of abuses and corrupted practices which these good people were anxious to abolish, goes into elaborate arguments to demonstrate that the French were unreasonable in asking for a responsible government which England herself did not have.[90] He could not have paid a greater compliment to French Canadians, showing their political intelligence in asking then what the British Empire afterwards established as a normal rule.

The government in the provinces by the office-holding

[84] *Travels in Canada,* p. 93.
[85] *Remarks Made on a Short Tour Between Hartford and Quebec,* p. 367.
[86] *An Excursion Through the United States and Canada during the Years 1822-1823, 1824,* p. 443.
[87] *Travels in North America in the Years 1827 and 1828,* Vol. I, p. 398; Henry Tudor, Vol. I, p. 317.
[88] *London and Westminster Review,* 1838, p. 527.
[89] Preston, Vol. II, p. 279.
[90] *Progress of Canada,* pp. 194-212.

clique had reached a most critical point. In Lower Canada feelings were not more intense, but the sense of injustice had expressed itself in a more abstract form as seen in the ninety-two resolutions. The British Government, aware of the situation, sent Lord Gosford, thinking perhaps that his well-known opposition to Orangemen [91] might conciliate the natives, but this was of no avail. The governor attempted to act in the right direction. He was in favour of concessions, and recommended the addition of seven French Canadians to the Legislative and nine to the Executive Council,[92] but the British party were opposed to this. He thought, and rightly, too, that the people were not hostile to England, but to have sided with the Canadians, as Bagot and Elgin did later on, would have seemed a British betrayal. He did nothing; and, consequently, the French, in spite of three dissolutions of the House of Assembly in one year [93] declined, as Upper Canadians had done the year before, to vote supplies. He had their leaders arrested, an act which brought on the insurrection.

The rebellion in the two provinces never reached "any very extensive proportions." [94] Out of 500,000 French Canadians 2,000 or 3,000 gathered to support it.[95] A number of Englishmen and Irishmen were factors in this revolt. H. S. Chapman was foremost among French Canadians, and in vain endeavoured to secure the co-operation of Joseph Howe, the great liberty leader in Nova Scotia.[96] In 1835 William Lyon Mackenzie visited Quebec with Dr. O'Grady to bring about a closer alliance between the discontented provinces.[97] There was Dr. O'Callaghan intensifying, with racial bitterness, his sense of injustice to the French.[98]

[91] Garneau, Vol. III, p. 300.
[92] *Ibid.*, p. 313.
[93] David, *Les Patriotes de 1837.*
[94] Bourinot, *Canada Under British Rule*, p. 21.
[95] Tracy, p. 816.
[96] Longley, *Joseph Howe*, p. 50.
[97] C. Lindsey, *William Lyon Mackenzie*, p. 287.
[98] Christie, Vol. IV, p. 11.

There were with them British residents such as Cuthbert of Berthier, and Neilson of Quebec, whose feelings were fanned into violence by the declamations of Papineau.[99] Dr. Robert Nelson's course was most mischievous. Messengers between the prospective insurgents of both provinces were urging action, not to speak of encouragement, from the mass of anti-British in the United States. Then the French Canadians pressed by strangers took the bit in their teeth. However, according to Lord Gosford, "At St. Denis it was an Englishman, Mr. Wolfred Nelson; at St. Charles, a Mr. Brown, half English and half American; at St. Benoit it was a Swiss that acted as chiefs." [100]

The fairest English and Canadian writers say, and rightly, that appeal to arms never was contemplated, and the best proof of this is that no preparation had been made. They had wooden guns with iron bands, rifles, some of which were from the French régime, pikes and scythes transformed into swords.[101] The opposite was the case with the British. From 1835 they drilled in private.[102] Mr. Bradshaw says, "There can be no doubt that they were eager to decide the quarrel by force at any time in the year of 1837." [103] According to a dispatch of Durham to Lord Glenely, August 9, 1838, and marked "Secret," the conflict was precipitated by the British from an instinctive sense of the danger of allowing the [French] Canadians full time for preparation." [104] A clash under these conditions was the height of madness. The small handful of rebels were defeated. A horrible repression followed, even calling forth English protests. The houses of those connected with the revolt—and some that were not—and even whole villages were burned, their crops destroyed, families ruined, imprisoned, or both. Over one thousand persons were

[99] Leacock, p. 20. [100] Quoted from Garneau, *Ibid.*, III, p. 355.
[101] F. X. Prieur, *Notes d'un condamné politique de 1838*, p. 11.
[102] Bradshaw, *Self-Government in Canada*, p. 91.
[103] *Ibid.*, p. 93. [104] Quoted from Bradshaw, p. 87.

arrested, most of them on mere suspicion.[105] One hundred and twelve men were court-martialed, ninety-eight were condemned to death, twelve were executed, thirty were placed under bonds, and fifty-eight were exiled. John Stuart Mill passes a definite philosophical condemnation of the woes of French Canadians and demands the reversal of the English wrong. He speaks of "the disgrace of having first broken their constitution and then used the insurrection, that acts of tyranny provoked, as an excuse for confiscating the rights of the native majority in favour of a handful of strangers." [106] In the British Parliament Lord Brougham made a just and severe onslaught upon the ministers. "You punish the whole of a province because it has a few dissatisfied parishes; you chastise even those who have helped you to crush the insurrection." [107]

Oh, the pathetic story of the unfortunates who were sent into distant exile to New South Wales! They first endured long months of incarceration in Montreal where they lived in tragic suspense, seeing their companions taken to the scaffold one by one. They knew not whether their condemnation to death was to be commuted to exile. The five months passed in a most uncomfortable and unhealthy craft that took them to Australia and the awful prospect of being treated like the lowest English criminals, were terrible. They were guarded on their arrival as if they had been the most dangerous desperadoes, subjected to an iron régime, and given "fifty strokes of the whip for leaving the yard without permission," [108] though three of these men had fought in the War of 1812, and one had shared the honours of Châteaugay.[109] Finally the authorities discovered that these prisoners had been slandered and gave them a virtual freedom. They were mostly honest, respectable farmers,

[105] J. D. Borthwick, *Jubilé de diamant. Rebellion de 37-38,* pp. 67, 69.
[106] *London and Westminster Review,* 1838, pp. 510, 532.
[107] Garneau, Vol. III, p. 332.
[108] Prieur, p. 139.
[109] *Ibid.,* p. 142.

with a few men of other professions, all of whom had fought for the deliverance of their country, not so much from England as from the domination of the bureaucratic and commercial classes. They were good men who lived so sanely, that, of the fifty-eight who went into exile, one married and remained there, and fifty-five, after nine years, returned to Canada.[110]

The real course of French Canadians is becoming more and more justly interpreted by writers of the English speech. "The root of the trouble," says A. G. Bradley, "lay in the fact that the government of the Canadian provinces with all their posts and perquisites had fallen into the hands of a group of families naturally British."[111] "No doubt," says Dr. George Bryce, "the state of things in the two provinces justified great discontent, and the two sets of placemen were responsible for the evils which an oppressed people rose to overthrow."[112] "Public opinion," say the biographers of Alexander Mackenzie, "has long done justice to the men who struggled to obtain for Canada the advantages of the English Constitution."[113] This judgment is now accepted by the sons of those who were so severe with the French.

The philosophy of this, for men of large views, is the ignorance of the English people of the wrongs done in their name, and the amazing contradictions of the British administration. It allowed Craig to imprison Pierre Bédard, to have him kept one year in confinement, refusing him a trial; but with the following governor this noble French Canadian was nominated judge of Three Rivers.[114] Similarly the judges, Panet, Elzéard Bédard, and M. Vallières de St. Réal, removed because of their courageous defence of the habeas corpus, were, without explanations

[110] Prieur, p. 234. [111] *Canada in the Twentieth Century*, p. 29.
[112] *Mackenzie, Selkirk, Simpson*, p. 242.
[113] W. Buckingham and G. W. Ross, p. 65.
[114] Dionne, *Pierre Bédard et ses fils*, p. 130.

or apologies, restored to their high positions.[115] It denied self-government, suppressed the rebellions with an iron hand, and then granted what was first asked.[116] In an all round way, the cause for which French Canadians suffered, and a small number of them fought, was so just that ultimately they came to have the government for which they longed.

[115] *Ibid.*, p. 191. [116] Leacock, *Baldwin, La Fontaine, Hinks*, p. 52.

CHAPTER VI

SELF-GOVERNMENT. LA FONTAINE AND CARTIER

WHEN Lord Durham accepted the task of settling matters in Canada he desired to be accompanied by some of his favourites, but this was opposed by the Colonial Office. Granted extraordinary powers by Parliament, he wished to appear surrounded by an imposing pompous display greater than that ever made by representatives of the Crown in the New World. On his arrival "he acted," says Bradshaw, one of his admirers, "as though the ordinary reign of law had been abolished." [1] He dismissed the Executive Council, and replaced the Special Council by one in which were five members of his suite but no French Canadian.[2] He immediately violated British law by offering $5,000 for the capture of Papineau, with threats of death if he returned, and this without a trial.[3] He exiled to the Bermudas eight of the men implicated in the rebellion, and this, also without judicial warrant. By so doing he aroused the British Parliament. Piqued by the condemnation of his course he relinquished his office and returned home. His *Report*, given to the public, excited the greatest enthusiasm, mingled with a most violent opposition. The inflated praises of this document by Anglo-Canadians are now subsiding and making way for a saner estimate.

When one bears in mind the short time that he spent in the country, barely five months, during a part of which he was ill; [4] the innumerable demands made upon him as

[1] *Self-Government in Canada*, p. 206.
[2] Pope, *The Day of Sir John Macdonald*, p. 34.
[3] Bradshaw, p. 181.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 273.

representative of the Queen; the special tasks resulting from recent tragic events; his addresses, and the petitions that poured in upon him; the time spent in righting himself with those whom he had offended; his correspondence with Melbourne and Glenely, one understands that he had but little leisure. He was not acquainted with the large amount of literature upon the Canadas, some of which really reflected more the real situation than the *Report*. His trip to Upper Canada took him ten days, four of which were spent at Niagara, where he gave as much time to Americans as to Upper Canadians. One day was devoted to Toronto, and he really saw of Upper Canada only what he perceived from the steamer. He did not visit the eastern townships. As a matter of fact, he had but little opportunity for his "general observation" of the upper Province,[5] and in French Canada his so-called "personal experiences" [6] were at the Château St. Louis.

Whatever may have been the splendid qualities of Lord Durham, he had a character too febrile, too irritable for the solution of the problem which confronted him. He was deficient in powers of observation and in his methods of investigation. All his intelligence of the "habitants" was gathered from their detractors or from his rides in the neighbourhood of Quebec and of Montreal.[7] He thus absorbed from British Gallophobians their conceptions and even their language. "Prejudices" mean the ideas of the natives. One defending these ideas is "a colonial demagogue." The plea for an honest administration is an unwise request for an "extension of popular privileges." Most of the terms he uses in reference to French Canadians have a derogatory sense, while all his characterisations of the English have a decidedly favourable twist. One is often forced to doubt his sincerity. While writing his *Report*, he was using his personal influence to prevent its adoption

[5] *Report*, p. 103. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 40. [7] Bradshaw, p. 271.

by Parliament.[8] He frequently juggles with facts. "The circumstances of the early administration excluded the native Canadian from power, and vested all offices of trust and emoluments in the hands of strangers of English origin. The highest posts of law were confided to the same class of persons."[9] "The circumstances of the early administration," by a literary sleight-of-hand performance, conceals the robbing of French Canadians of their birthright as British subjects. That euphemistic sentence veils three-quarters of a century of colonial dishonour. Had he described those "circumstances of the early administration," the moral sense of England would have revolted.

He was not able to understand the sociological structure of that people, the survival of a type which had reached its perfection under Louis XIV, which still exists in important parts of France and even in the United States. Walter H. Page complained of a similar condition in his beloved Virginia. It was a fixed society with changeless politics, immutable religion, permanent ownership, and a steady, national life which they realized, by their constancy. He expresses contempt for this "old and stationary society,"[10] "an uninstructed, inactive, unprogressive people,"[11] and for "the unenterprising character of the French population,"[12] but he is obliged to use the same language in speaking of other provinces. Hanotaux, Garneau, Colby, and Moore would have shamed him for his ignorance when he said that French Canadians had "no history." He asserts that they had "no literature," no enjoyment of "art";[13] this, in a colonial, agricultural country which, at the Cession, had lost its leading class. Why should he not blame Prince Edward Island because it had not produced a Venus of Milo or built a Parthenon?

[8] S. Thompson, *Reminiscences of a Canadian Pioneer*, p. 157.
[9] *Report*, p. 20. [10] *Ibid.*, p. 17. [11] *Ibid.*, p. 16.
[12] *Ibid.*, p. 47. [13] *Ibid.*, p. 218.

Instead of dealing frankly with the obvious causes of the Rising he dogmatically makes them a matter of ethnology. "I expected," he says, "to find a contest between a government and a people: I found two nations warring in the bosom of a single state: I found a struggle not of principles but of races."[14] This he frequently repeats in various ways. Had this been true the same racial antagonism would have continued to act under the administration of La Fontaine and Baldwin, when the reformers of Upper Canada and the French were signally united in a policy of progress and reform. It would have acted under Sir John Macdonald and Sir George Cartier, an administration supported by Orangemen of Upper Canada and by the Catholics of the lower province, when ethnographic forces should have been dominant. A striking refutation of this is that the French were most calm and peaceful from the moment when England granted them "responsible government" and delivered them from office-holders. Even supposing, for the sake of argument, that there was a conflict of races, the French were in their own country, in which, by the Quebec Act, the sons of the conquerors were to obey the laws of the land.[15]

Durham practically refutes himself. "It is impossible," he says, "to observe the great similarity of the constitutions established in all our North American provinces, and the striking tendency of all to terminate in pretty nearly the same way, without entertaining a belief that some defect in the form of government and some erroneous principle of administration have been common to all; the hostility of races being palpably insufficient to account for all the evils which have affected Lower Canada inasmuch as nearly the same results have been exhibited among the homogeneous population of the other provinces. It is but too evident that Lower Canada, or the two Canadas, have not

[14] *Report*, p. 8.

[15] Cavendish, pp. 37, 58.

alone exhibited repeated conflicts between the executive and the popular branches of the legislature. The representative body of Upper Canada was, before the last election, hostile to the policy of the government; the most serious discontents have only recently been calmed in Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick; the government is still, I believe, in a minority in the Lower House in Nova Scotia; and the dissensions of Newfoundland are hardly less violent than those of the Canadas." [16]

Seventy-five per cent of the population were French Canadians and one-quarter were Anglo-Canadians. He really disregarded the grievances of the sons of the soil, and the key-note of his attitude is contained in his statement, "Our first duty is to secure the well-being of our colonial countrymen." [17] These he flatters. From the first he is prejudiced against the natives. Before he has a chance to study the situation he appoints a new Special Council, but in it, as we have said, there was not one French Canadian. Then he wrote those cruel sentences representing his conclusions: "I know of no national distinction marking and continuing a more hopeless inferiority." [18] "There can hardly be conceived a nationality more destitute of all that can invigorate and elevate a people than that which is exhibited by the descendants of the French in Lower Canada." [19]

How can we reconcile this French helplessness with Durham's ethical estimate of them? "The temptations which, in other states of society, lead to offences against property, and the passions which prompt to violence, are little known among them. They are mild and kindly, frugal, industrious and honest, very sociable, cheerful and hospitable, and distinguished for a courtesy and real politeness, which pervade every class of society." [20] At the end of his *Report,* he

[16] *Report,* p. 51. [17] *Ibid.,* p. 229. [18] *Ibid.,* p. 216.
[19] *Ibid.,* p. 217. [20] *Ibid.,* p. 17.

again burns incense before them. "They are an amiable, a virtuous, and a contented people, possessing all the essentials of material comfort, and not to be despised or ill-used because they seek to enjoy what they have, without emulating the spirit of accumulation, which influences their neighbours." [21] Can this be a people destitute of all that can invigorate? These facts and their later history prove the contrary.

The renowned High Commissioner never ceases to hold before us the great shadow of French Canadian illiteracy. He does not fail to refer to a monster petition, sent by the natives to London, a large part of whose names were represented by their mark. But how many in Upper Canada would have been able to sign their names? According to Bourinot, in 1834, there were only 34,000 children in the schools of Upper Canada,[22] and Dr. W. L. Grant tells us that, in 1840, out of 220,000 children under the age of sixteen, about 30,000 attended school.[23] Most writers draw a dismal picture of education from this. Some fifteen years before chairmen of committees, in the Assembly, were not able to read bills referred to them or to write amendments.[24] French Canadians had then well-educated men. Again it is Durham who speaks: "The common assertion, however, that all classes of Canadians are equally ignorant, is perfectly erroneous; for I know of no people among whom a larger provision exists for the higher kinds of elementary education, or among whom such an education is really extended to a larger portion of the population." [25] This does not suggest the "most hopeless inferiority."

Lord Durham complains that Quebec had no "provision for criminal justice," [26] and it is true that judicial institu-

[21] *Report,* p. 213.
[22] *Intellectual Development of the Canadian People,* p. 30.
[23] *History of Canada,* p. 166. [24] Talbot, Vol. I, p. 405; Vol. II, p. 118.
[25] *Report,* p. 18. He refers to their college education.
[26] *Report,* pp. 87, 89.

tions were as yet imperfectly organised, but really, outside of large centers, what was the use of a vast system of criminal jurisprudence if "the passions which prompt to violence were little known among them"? [27] Crime was, and still is, so rare that many municipalities need not look after criminals. The *Report* suggests that justice was better administered in Upper Canada.[28] Talbot has given us a bird's-eye view of the work of district judges there: "Many of them, in fact, to use plain language, are as ignorant of the laws of the country as of the Code Napoleon." [29] "A full bench of magistrates on the western frontier gravely subjected to examination an American for having, while in the States, uttered threats against Canadian subjects." [30] They condemned him to imprisonment from which he was soon released at the demand of the American Government. French Canada never had such denial of justice as that of Robert Gourlay, or the criminal condemnation, at about the same time, of Lord Selkirk through the extraordinary power of the North-West Company.

He shows a flagrant partiality for Upper Canadians whose revolt he minimises and whose general condition he had no opportunity to ascertain. No one at that time could have foretold what, later on, were to be the great destinies of the province. In politics and in religion its men were violent towards each other. Religious denominations vied with each other in mutual insulting judgments. Was there ever in Lower Canada a rancorous man like "the irreconcilable Bishop of Toronto," [31] Bishop Strachan, whose spirit and theology belonged to another age? The people at large were bitter towards the Yankees, and most unfair towards new-comers from Great Britain. One of their

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 17.
[28] *Ibid.*, p. 131.
[29] *Five Years' Residence in the Canadas*, Vol. II, p. 411.
[30] *Ibid.*, p. 65.
[31] Shortt, p. 249.

laws was that no English attorney should practise in the province until he had spent three years of novitiate with a local lawyer.[32] A British surgeon, licenced in England, could not exercise his profession without the consent of the Ontario Board of Examiners. If they so treated Americans and Englishmen, how will they deal with French Canadians? Upper Canadian life was largely devoid of idealism and of justice, but fortunately, at about this time, a larger and much better type of immigration was arriving.[33]

Generosity and kindness, not to speak of fair play, would have been a wise policy for Upper Canadians, but instead they were most illiberal and exacting. "Every measure of clemency or even of justice towards their opponents," says Durham, "they regard with jealousy." [34] The half dozen parties, wrangling against each other, almost seemed a unit against the French. When Lord Sydenham approached them with a view to carrying out the proposed Durham Union, they asked "the entire exclusion from political privileges of all of French origin"; that is, "the legal ascendancy of the British and the subjection of the aliens." [35] They would refuse the franchise to those who did not hold their land in free tenure, that is, to the French. These generous Ontarians wished to give to New Brunswick a part of Lower Canada and to annex for themselves a portion of it, including Montreal. They wanted the capital in their province. Furthermore, they insisted upon having sixty-two members in the House, while Lower Canada would have only fifty, though its population was 200,000 larger. They refused the principle of proportional representation

[32] *Report*, p. 121.

[33] Howison, p. 186; Fidler, p. 198; Arfwedson, *The United States and Canada in 1832, 1833 and 1834*, p. 104; *Inquiries of an Emigrant*, p. xi; Durham, p. 121; Moodie, *Roughing It in the Bush*, p. 200; Buckingham, p. 9; C. Haight, *Country Life in Canada Fifty Years Ago*, p. 125.

[34] *Report*, p. 41.

[35] G. Poulett Scrope, *Memoir of the Life of the Right Honourable Charles, Lord Sydenham*, p. 125.

while they were a minority, but, as good political opportunists, when their number increased, they clamoured for it.

Their finances were in a deplorable condition. The government could not borrow even $315,000 at less than eight or ten per cent.[36] The banks of Upper Canada "were actually bankrupt, and owed an enormous debt to Barings," [37] one of whose associates was then minister of finance.[38] This fact contributed to the nature of the settlement. The only alternative was the union of the two provinces or financial collapse. Sydenham contemplated the placing of a part of this debt upon French Canadians who, at the Rising, had a surplus in their finances.[39] Forced by circumstances and pressed by the governor, Upper Canadians accepted the change on the basis of an equal number of representatives. As they had 200,000 fewer inhabitants, they really had two-thirds of the representation, and their debt involved the paying of thirty dollars by each French Canadian family, rich and poor.[40] What is even worse, these French Canadians were not consulted by the governor, while Upper Canadians were treated with the utmost consideration. As Lord Metcalfe said, "The Union was effected without the consent of Lower Canada but with the purchased assent of Upper Canada." [41] The French were thereby compelled to shoulder the British white man's burden, his debt, and to have a government imposed upon them in spite of the best British traditions.

Now the chorus of Durham British praises from those of John Stuart Mill, who hailed the "Lord High Commissioner" as a possible chief of the leaderless Liberals, to those of Anglo-Canadian historians, has lost its volume.[42] There

[36] Shortt, p. 318.
[37] Bradshaw, p. 220.
[38] Turcotte, *Le Canada sous l'Union*, Vol. I, p. 35.
[39] Durham, pp. 101, 228.
[40] J. Buckingham, p. 247.
[41] Sir J. W. Kaye, *Life of Lord Metcalfe*, Vol. II, p. 503.
[42] *Autobiography*, p. 217; *London and Westminster Review*, 1838, p. 510; *Westminster Review*, 1838, p. 241.

are those who tell us that there is scarcely anything in the *Report* which had not been advocated before. A large number of errors of facts have been pointed out. His great solution, like some patent medicines, is to cure all national ills. His political generalizations and conclusions are those of a rhetorical politician which subsequent history has proven to be false. His vaticinations excite our pity as they were almost all unrealised. Indeed, he produced a mass of evidence against an administration which tottered in 1837. A fair-minded Briton would have demanded justice for the victims, especially a man like Durham who had made eloquent speeches in Parliament "on behalf of oppressed nationalities," [43] but, instead, he recommended their subjection to an autocratic régime, "constituted on a despotic footing" and the denationalising of this noble people. The principles which had triumphed at Westminister, in 1774, were abandoned for the practice of the Russian government. However, by the workings of that divine economy of justice which rules the world, the unrighteous measure to bring about the extinction of this people proved "the very means of sustaining the nationality and influence of French Canadians," [44] and the glorious spirit of the Quebec Act ultimately rose again.

Lord Sydenham, also an out-and-out politician,[45] rendered the Union more unfair and objectionable by his dishonest redistribution of electoral districts, and used all forms of intimidation and compulsion to attain his ends. He "coaxed, cajoled, and even threatened those who resisted," says Bradshaw.[46] He admits that he had more difficulties with the "miserable little oligarchy," "the few factious demagogues" of Upper Canada than with the French, who, had it not been for parasitical placemen, would have been one of the quietest, gentlest peoples who ever lived under the British

[43] Bradshaw, p. 1. [44] Leacock, p. 57. [45] S. Thompson, p. 157.
[46] *Self-Government in Canada*, p. 254.

flag. He, also flattered the British party and leaned upon it for support. He kept the French excluded from his administration.[47] There was not a native in the list of his councillors. It is true that he asked Louis La Fontaine to enter his cabinet, but this great Canadian declined, as he realized that the governor-general did not believe in what Liberals called "responsible government." [48] Indefatigable, he spared no pains to organize the Union so as to give the sons of the conquerors control of political life. He disfranchised a large part of the electors of Quebec and Montreal. Nevertheless, he was pleased with his own achievements, and was honest enough to say "nothing but despotism could have got them through." [49]

When Sir Charles Bagot, the successor of Sydenham, arrived in 1842, he found a very unsatisfactory situation. In a letter to Lord Stanley he exposes the state of things. A large number of Anglo-Canadians "are at heart Separationists." Events soon proved that he was right. As it was impossible to continue with the old oligarchy he asks La Fontaine to head his cabinet, an offer which he will accept only on his own terms: "Equality of the ministers and of the two peoples and of all British subjects under the Canadian flag." [50] With singular fairness and foresight he asks a seat in the government for Baldwin.[51] When his conditions were complied with then began "the great ministry" [52] of these noble duumviri. Baldwin had already been in a cabinet which he left for the same reason that La Fontaine refused to enter into it. The latter had unquestionably the leadership, though in theory both were equal. Sir Charles Bagot was the first governor not to see in Canada Englishmen, Irishmen, and other citizens, but

[47] Scrope, *Memoir*, p. 273; Pope, *Memoirs of the Right Honourable Sir John Macdonald*, Vol. I, p. 23.
[48] Turcotte, Vol. I, p. 56; Leacock, p. 64.
[49] Shortt, p. 256.
[50] De Celles, *La Fontaine et son temps*, p. 32.
[51] *Ibid.*, p. 64.
[52] Leacock, *Baldwin, La Fontaine, Hinks*, p. 282.

Canadians. If he incurred the displeasure of Lord Stanley, he endeared himself to the French.

The two ministers had a program from which neither ever seriously deviated. Theirs was a genuine platform resting upon definite principles. It included the sanction of the popular will for the adoption of laws; the people's approval of taxes and their uses; their participation in government, and their real control of the civil service.[53] More specifically, they would have the reorganisation of the courts, the improvement of education, the abrogation of old laws, such as prison for debts, the transformation and abolition of seigniories, and many other reforms.[54] Senator L. O. David sums up these principles under the following heads: "Social equality, political liberty, the blessing of responsible government, and the privilege for voters to manage their own affairs."[55]

The political cleavage in Quebec was far from national. Many Englishmen almost always stood by the French, and in the House voted with them. The Liberals of Upper Canada and most of the patriotic Quebeckers were united by the purest political spirit, free from ethnological considerations. The latter who, as a whole, were loyal—only a small minority revolted—were grieved by the violence of the victors and their cruel repression. They did not spend their time in recriminations, though the Union was galling for most of them. "No part of the constitution of 1840," says Bourinot, "gave greater offence to the French Canadian population than the clause restricting the use of the French language in the legislature."[56] Both parties felt the injustice of this. The Liberals were to propose its use in Parliament, but D. B. Papineau, a Conservative, stole their thunder, and made the motion which was carried, and this

[53] De Celles, *La Fontaine*, p. 48. [54] *Ibid.*, p. 14.
[55] *L'Union des deux Canadas*, p. 22.
[56] *Canada Under British Rule*, p. 187.

was done at the instigation of John A. Macdonald.[57] He knew that it was a just act.

When, in 1843, Sir Charles Metcalfe succeeded Sir Charles Bagot, he attempted to move backward, but such reactions are most difficult. He had been sent with the impression that he was the best "statesman to crush responsible government in Canada." [58] There is no doubt that he was heeding the wishes of Lord Russell, the Secretary for the Colonies. His government was personal, but as a whole, he was inclined to be fair to the natives, rendered them conspicuous services, asked the authorities in London to permit the use of the French language in Parliament, and it was granted. The Colonial Office became better informed, more conciliatory, but it was only in 1846 that Lord Russell first yielded to the principle of responsible government.[59] When Lord Elgin, a decendant of "The Bruce," the son of the diplomat to whom we owe the preservation of the marbles of the Parthenon, arrived, in 1847, he attempted honestly, and with courage, to steer the country along the new path.

During the session of 1849, in Montreal, a bill was introduced to grant compensation to French Canadians who had suffered losses during the Rebellion. The people of Upper Canada had already received $200,000 for the same purpose. The bills for the two provinces were "couched in very similar terms." [60] The principle of compensation had been approved by Lord Metcalfe.[61] This was only the practical carrying out of the intention of the preceding administration.[62] Tories placed fanciful constructions upon the bill which, according to Lord Elgin, had the support of

[57] Pope, *The Day of Sir John Macdonald*, p. 34; *Memoirs*, Vol. I, p. 37; Parkin, *Sir John A. Macdonald*, p. 24.
[58] Sir F. Hinks, *Reminiscences of His Public Life*, p. 185.
[59] A. T. Galt, *Canada: 1849-1859*, p. 6.
[60] Hinks, p. 193; T. Walrond, *Letters and Journals of James, Eighth Earl of Elgin*, p. 71.
[61] Hinks, p. 189. [62] *Ibid.*, p. 191.

seventeen votes of Upper Canada, fourteen against it, six votes from the English members of Lower Canada with four against it, so that it had more than one-half of its votes from Britons.[63] The Upper Canadian Tories and the lawless British Montrealers smarted to see "rebels"—a rebel was a man not belonging to their set—"in the seat of power," [64] and above all they were beside themselves when the governor, tactfully taking advantage of the new language decision, made his speech in French as well as in English. They vented their wrath upon the bill and upon the governor.

The purpose of the measure, they dishonestly said, was to reward rebels. In addition to mob violence in Toronto and in Montreal, they carried their rioting into the streets and appealed to race passion. The rioters were English, not so much the ignorant labourers as the so-called upper class of the British population, the men of the clubs. The centre of the attack was the English governor whose only crime was that he wanted the same justice for all Canadians. He was publicly and grossly insulted. His fiercest assailants were members of the St. Andrew's Society.[65] Anglo-Canadians dismissed him from the presidency of their organizations, some of them expelled him.[66] Delegations were sent to England to secure his recall. This attitude was also that of the Ontario Tories. His historian said that the Family Compact took a long time to forgive "that he had dared to be impartial." [67] Calm, patient, dignified, this courageous statesman was far from carrying "out to the full the views of his father-in-law," Durham, as Dr. W. L. Grant states.[68] Elgin intimated that he would follow such a course,[69] but when he saw the situation in Canada, he felt morally forced to act otherwise.

[63] Walrond, p. 81. [64] *Ibid.*, pp. 58, 71. [65] Hinks, p. 196.
[66] *Ibid.*, p. 69. [67] Walrond, p. 95.
[68] *History of Canada*, p. 204. [69] Walrond, pp. 36, 41.

He allowed the French to enter the cabinet,[70] sent for La Fontaine to head it, advocated a policy of conciliation,[71] and was entirely opposed "to denationalize the French."[72] He exercised a noble neutrality,[73] and gave French Canadians the conviction that their governor was a just man.[74] What a contrast between this and the "despotic footing" of Lord Durham! Notice the governor's magnificent, humane, and gentle spirit as he sets forth his method of dealing with them. "Let them feel . . . that their religion, their habits, their prepossessions, their prejudices, if you will, are more considered and respected here than in other portions of this vast continent; who will venture to say that the last hand which waves the British flag on American ground may not be that of a French Canadian?" [75] His eloquent appeal was as timely as it was wise. John A. Macdonald, endeavouring to excuse the acts of his friends in the recent events of Montreal, accused the men in power "of undisguised hostility to the British connection." [76] This was a monumental calumny.

This celebrated prime minister and his biographer attempt to whitewash the rioters of Montreal, the disloyal Britons, who signed a document advocating union with the United States. Owing to the repeal of the Corn Laws and other English legislation, the economic situation of Canada was harrowing, and political changes were galling for Britons; but their misdemeanours remain a blot upon their citizenship. Among the renegades were families represented by Sir John Rose, Sir John Caldwell Abbot, Sir Francis Johnson, Sir David Macpherson, the Redpaths, the Molsons, etc.[77] The *Montreal Herald* was for annexion, and so was the *Mirror* of Toronto.[78] Public officials, magistrates, Queen's counsel, militia officers were in the same move-

[70] Walrond, p. 38. [71] *Ibid.*, p. 54. [72] *Ibid.*, p. 89.
[73] *Ibid.*, p. 86. [74] *Ibid.*, p. 98. [75] *Ibid.*, p. 54.
[76] Pope, *Memoirs*, Vol. I, p. 70.
[77] Pope, *The Day*, p. 27. [78] Walrond, p. 116.

ment.[79] So were the commercial classes [80]—business before patriotism. Sir Richard Cartwright is amazed at the annexation sentiment in Upper Canada. Even as late as 1864 these feelings were still so strong that Isaac Buchanan, M. P., sent a most energetic letter to the Toronto *Globe* against the movement [81] which was revived in recent times.

There were those who attempted to conceal the dishonesty of the rioters. As a matter of fact, of the 2,244 rebellion claims of the French 429 were rejected.[82] Sir Joseph Pope says that "The commission appointed by the government, under the Rebellion Losses Act was composed of moderate men who had the wisdom to refuse compensation to many claimants on the ground of their having been implicated in the rebellion." [83] The Tories had no right to assume that the Liberals would have a "commission" of extreme men. Joseph Howe, the man who, in Nova Scotia, fought against evils like those under which French Canadians suffered, sent a most sarcastic letter to the Hon. George Moffat, president of the British American League, a just denunciation of the cause of the renegades.[84] Speaking of the event, John A. Macdonald said, "Our fellows lost their heads." [85] Montreal was prevented from being the capital of Canada, a privilege which, according to George R. Parkin, "she had forfeited." [86] She "paid a heavy penalty for her mad acts of lawlessness," says S. Thompson.[87] This was not the fault of the French in the city but of the lawless British.

La Fontaine will more and more be brought into higher relief by impartial historians. Among other things, he put, as far as he could, ethnological issues in the background. The division of the country into two leading parties shows

[79] Walrond, p. 101.
[80] Bourinot, *Lord Elgin*, pp. 58, 189.
[81] Morgan, p. 25.
[82] Hinks, p. 200.
[83] *Memoirs*, Vol. I, p. 69.
[84] Longley, *Howe*, p. 114.
[85] Pope, *The Day*, p. 27.
[86] *Sir John A. Macdonald*, p. 39.
[87] *Reminiscences of a Canadian Pioneer for the Last Fifty Years*, p. 244.

the unreality of Durham's racial considerations. The French minister exerted a calming influence in political, social and national controversies which was long felt. His constitutional knowledge was equalled only by the best mannered constitutional spirit. He had the gentleness of strength which generates patience. He not only displayed a remarkable self-control and intelligence in facing some unsuppressable elements of Upper Canada and Montreal, but those of his own people also. French representatives became possessed of the better ways of English parliamentarians. With his great practical sense, he had no sympathy for the spirit of radical politics, though he showed much patience in dealing with Papineau. La Fontaine's greatness was displayed principally in his harmonious co-operation with Baldwin, though they were of different origin and creed. When they retired, nearly at the same time, they were called the "Fathers of responsible government." [88] Henceforth the Colonial Office gave up its absurd pretension to govern Canada from London.

The "Great Ministry," as it came to be named, gave the country a calm and successful government which was succeeded by one uniting two antagonistic elements, the Orangemen of Ontario and the Roman Catholics of Quebec. John A. Macdonald took the leadership, most efficiently supported by Cartier. The latter a son of French Canada, who, by sterling worth, at the age of forty-one was a member of the Cabinet [89] and at forty-three held the place which had been so brilliantly occupied by La Fontaine.[90] The new dual ministry was really less progressive than the preceding one, but it took no step backward. Cartier had been involved in the Rebellion and a reward of $2,500 had been offered for his apprehension.[91] It is this which led William Lyon Mackenzie one day, to say, "There's the attorney-

[88] De Celles, *La Fontaine*, p. 156.
[89] Boyd, p. 112.
[90] *Ibid.*, p. 114.
[91] Watkins, p. 101.

general for Lower Canada—when the British Government placed an estimate upon our heads, they valued mine at four thousand dollars, and his at only two thousand." [92] Cartier in his conversation often inserted "When I was a rebel." [93] There was in his heart a deep and abiding political conversion. In this he was at one with the élite of the young men of French Canada. In spite of the frequent vicissitudes of ministers Sir John Macdonald and himself directed the affairs of Canada during the most formative period of its permanent political life.

Cartier was a personal refutation of the slur often directed towards his countrymen that they lacked practical and constructive talents. He had a quick, resolute, enterprising mind, a tremendous energy backed by an indomitable will, Yankee push, English decision, and French Canadian perseverance; but he was ultra-conservative in his idealism. Courageous to a fault, he would be a good fighter anywhere. He was a master in turning the laugh upon his antagonists. When Cartwright ironically said, "The honourable minister has daring enough to undertake anything whatsoever," Cartier gracefully rose and calmly thanked the orator for his compliment.[94] On another occasion Dorion sent a fling at him, "nowadays the government has only great projects." "Yes," quickly responded the ex-rebel, "we propose great measures, and, what is more, we carry them out." [95] When Mr. William Wright of Ottawa said in Parliament that Cartier, as Minister of the Militia, was *semper audax,* a little later, the minister said, "I will recall to him in this connection a quotation from Virgil—*audaces fortuna juvat.*" [96]

Until a short time before his death he had the support of his countrymen as La Fontaine had [97] and especially that of the Church.[98] In many ways, however, he followed in

[92] Lindsey, p. 499. [93] Watkins, p. 499. [94] Laurier, *Discours,* p. 137.
[95] Boyd, p. 245. [96] *Ibid.,* p. 291.
[97] De Celles, *Cartier,* p. 75. [98] Cartwright, p. 9.

the footsteps of Sir Hippolyte La Fontaine.[99] Intensely British, he defined his countrymen as "Englishmen speaking French." He admirably served the people who trusted him in what concerned the two provinces and the British Empire. From 1851 to 1864 Macdonald would have been defeated had it not been for the practical talent of Cartier, and in that government Macdonald had probably less than one-half the following possessed by him.[100] No one would contest that, much of the time, notwithstanding the peculiar activity of the Anglo-Canadian minister, until Sir Charles Tupper became an important factor, the French Canadian was at the helm. Less a politician than his colleague, he was a broader man, more refined and cultivated, with great capacities of painstaking.

Cartier, fully aware of the historical necessity which, in the early days, imposed upon the country changeless ownership, took a leading part in its removal. He had a Seigniorial Court organized, presided over by La Fontaine, which decided the legal aspects of the question and then the government acted.[101] The province paid $3,250,000 to be relieved from that burden [102]—a wise and honourable solution—so little detrimental, in spite of the bitter criticisms to which it was subjected, that farmers who could have been absolutely relieved by paying a small sum, still continued to pay their toll. His legal and judicial reforms were most important. He ordered and directed the codification of French laws. The work was so well done that the principal of Upper Canada College, Dr. W. L. Grant, says "that the law of Quebec is in many ways superior to that of any other province." [103] This Cartier introduced into the eastern townships of Lower Canada where English laws had prevailed.[104] He had the death penalty abolished for

[99] P. Bender, *Old and New Canada*, p. 228.
[100] Cartwright, *Reminiscences*, p. 10. [101] Boyd, p. 140.
[102] Galt, p. 16. [103] *History of Canada*, p. 227. [104] Boyd, p. 136.

a number of criminal acts. He decentralised the judiciary to lessen trouble and expense for the people and have the presence of judges felt in important localities. He aimed to infuse new life into the national organism. His services at this point can scarcely be exaggerated. He reformed the method of registry of mortgages and deeds, completed the cadastre [105] of the province, and prepared a law for the freer opening of new parishes.[106]

To help the economic development of the country he became an out-and-out protectionist. He might have been called Minister of Public Works. In 1846 he appeared before his kinsmen to plead the case of the Montreal & Portland Railroad. He was foremost in pushing before Parliament the building of the famous Victoria Bridge, the deepening of the St. Lawrence from Montreal, and in bringing the Grand Trunk Railroad to the quays of the port of that city. As a part of the same program he subsidised transatlantic steamers. He insisted upon having the Grand Trunk reach the Rivière du Loup, and that the Intercolonial should not only join Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, but that it should cross the counties of Rimouski, Bonaventure, and Gaspé, to open—as it did—that country to colonisation, and perhaps to serve some future military contingencies, but in any case to become a means of penetration. His practical projects were far-reaching.

He had the honour of proposing to Parliament the first Canadian transcontinental railway and, in 1872, brought before the House of Commons a series of resolutions which were the prelude of the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway.[107] Conscious of the necessity of organising the great West, in 1870 he presented to the Lower House the constitution of Manitoba and during the next year, backed

[105] Official plan of the properties of a municipal unit, showing their position, their extent, and value for apportionment of taxes.
[106] De Celles, *Cartier*, p. 68. [107] *Ibid.*, p. 91.

with great force by Sir Charles Tupper,[108] that of British Columbia. As Minister of Militia and Defence, he organised that service in such a way that its provisions before the Great War contained what was essential in the militia system of the country.[109] His part was second to none in transforming the union of the Canadas into a larger one, the Confederation. The Durham Union had been to some extent a federative machine. The Confederation was its extension.

Sir Charles Tupper said to the Duke of Buckingham that, but for the patriotic devotion of Cartier to the great project of confederation and the courage with which, in the face of great difficulties and dangers, he pursued that policy to the end, the Union could not have been accomplished."[110] Sir Joseph Pope paid him a similar compliment. "Had it not been for Sir George Cartier, it is doubtful whether the Dominion of Canada would exist to-day. He it was who faced, at its inception, the most unnatural distrust of the measure. It was his magnificent courage and resistless energy which triumphed over all opposition."[111] La Fontaine and Cartier contributed largely to make the Union of the Canadas the development and, in a measure, the organic union of the two peoples, and the many-sided progress of what may, some day, be called the Canadian Empire. The Federation was a step forward in the progressive march of a notable people.

[108] J. W. Longley, *Sir Charles Tupper,* p. 113.
[109] Boyd, p. 291.
[110] Letter published by Boyd, p. 284.
[111] *The Day of Sir John Macdonald,* p. 42.

CHAPTER VII

CARTIER AND LAURIER IN THE FEDERATION

THE different administrations of the period known as the Union of the Canadas represented valuable experiences for French Canadians, but they revealed to all that the annexation and proposed assimilation of Lord Durham would not work. In the false, formal unity, by the force of things, the two provinces lived their independent life and were really a virtual federation. There was a working understanding between them but no absorption. As a matter of fact, notwithstanding certain similarities of ways born of common conditions of life and habits, French Canadians had made to their likeness, subjected to their speech and faith, many persons of Anglo-Saxon birth, and given proofs of the existence of a growing national life, of a growing national literature, and of a growing national culture, impossible to reconcile with the purpose of the Union. However, the federation of the provinces was a wise solution and for all an unquestionable gain.

The French Canadian people, with their unpleasant memories, were morbidly apprehensive. Anglo-Canadians, on the whole, were friendlier to the idea of the new régime, and yet many of them made an amazing opposition to it.[1] Like the French, they predicted all kinds of evils none of which happened. Sir Richard Cartwright states, later on, that "probably both parties were right in a measure, but, looking back, I must admit that it was a leap in the dark,

[1] Pope, *The Day of Sir John Macdonald*, p. 80.

and we certainly had no popular mandate before us." [2] Neither the English nor the French were consulted by a vote. As a conservative, Cartier opposed submitting the project to popular suffrage on the ground that it was beyond the capacity of the judgment of voters. The men at the helm of the government realised that the Durham Union had curtailed the liberties of all and John A. Macdonald said that he merely wished "to set Upper Canada free," [3] and George Brown desired to lessen French Canadian power.[4] The greater part of Anglo-Canadians were in sympathy with the theoretical justice of the proposed step.

Cartier was fully conscious of this, and while he was as devoted as ever to his people, it would be difficult to find a Canadian statesman who had more at heart the largest interests of the Dominion and that confirmed him in his federative ideas. His work in England was most important. He was there several times on most serious missions. He was sent with Mr. William McDougall to negotiate the buying of the privileges of the Hudson's Bay Company. His associate being detained by illness, Cartier carried the negotiations to a successful issue.[5] At one time he had been solicitor for the Grand Trunk Railway, but he had not grown rich, either by his professional work or by his political honours. When he was created a baronet he had to borrow, on his personal note, the money required to pay the necessary fee.[6] Sir John Macdonald and Sir Joseph Pope use almost the same language in their estimate of him: "He was truthful, honest, and sincere and commanded the respect and confidence of all with whom he came in contact." [7]

[2] *Reminiscences,* p. 38.
[3] Pope, *Memoirs of the Right Honourable Sir John Macdonald,* Vol. I, p. 322.
[4] Skelton, Vol. I, p. 79.
[5] De Celles, *Cartier,* p. 107.
[6] Pope, *The Day,* p. 78.
[7] Pope, *Ibid.,* p. 42; *Memoirs,* Vol. I, p. 135.

This son of a so-called "inferior race" was invited to Windsor by the great Queen who, with her ministers, had recognised the signal worth of Sir George. At his death "the state gave a public funeral to this great French Canadian, animated by the sincere desire to weld the two races together on principles of compromise and justice." [8] Gladstone, who knew his efficiency, speaks of him "as a man who seems to be a legion in himself, and who displays no less warm a sympathy particularly to the origin to which he traces his race and the traditions of his people, and who, superior to any of his predecessors, is eminently fitted to represent that spirit of fraternity which should unite the English-speaking nations throughout the world." [9] Laurier says that Cartier had "a political sense of first magnitude," that few men "have better understood the French people," [10] that "he had a determination that never falters, a courage that nothing can defeat." The Canadian Parliament voted a sum of money for the purpose of erecting a monument in his honour. It was his last good fortune to have a French Canadian artist of rare power, Philippe Hébert, evoke his personality in enduring bronze, voicing for one man the feeling expressed by the Paris Pantheon for many, *Aux grands hommes la patrie reconnaissante.*

While giving prominence to the French Canadians, who so contributed to the political history of Canada, we must also remember the relatively large production of superior men by the country and the conspicuous services which they rendered. Denis Benjamin Viger was several times sent to England to present the grievances of his countrymen before the Imperial authorities. Had there not been a miscarriage of political justice he would have won the day. At the resignation of the "Great Ministry" he was premier for a short time. He was censured by his people, but the fairest of their historians, while asserting that he betrayed the cause of

[8] Bourinot, *C. Under B. R.*, p. 233. [9] Boyd, p. 297. [10] *Discours*, p. 137.

responsible government, recognise that he was actuated by a high sense of duty. Confidential adviser of Sir Charles Metcalfe, he called forth the essentially fair attitude of that governor towards the French, whose feelings he avoided hurting and whose services in the administration he tried to secure. Apart from all this, it is quite probable that without him we would not have had the great historian, F. X. Garneau, whose training as secretary of this eminent political leader doubtless contributed much to his development as a historian.

Réné Edouard Caron, a man of extensive training and ability, had a most valuable experience as mayor of Quebec, member of the Assembly, member of the Legislative Council of Canada, Speaker, member of the La Fontaine-Baldwin Government and of the Hinks-Morin Government, judge of the Superior Court of Quebec and later on of the Seigniorial Court.[11] He was a man so reliable and just that Draper, who wished to win over the French, wrote to him to feel his way in reference to that matter. In his letter he spoke of them as "unruly." Caron gave a proud answer that has almost a Roman ring: "There is no people easier to govern or to maintain in affection and confidence, if but the government would. Our political rights unimpaired in the first place, and the full enjoyment of our social institutions, unless amended by our own consent, are the best and the only means of securing forever that affection and confidence *at heart* and *at hand*." [12] In his letters and those of La Fontaine there is a clear consciousness of their constitutional rights, expressed with a great sense of national dignity.

Augustus Norbert Morin is another of these able political men, well trained by their colleges for public functions, an advantage that the public men of Upper Canada had to a

[11] Burpee and Doughty, *Index and Dictionary of Canadian History*, p. 64.
[12] Hinks, p. 55.

much lesser degree. He served in the Assembly, then became a member of the La Fontaine-Baldwin administration, was Speaker of the House and was associated with Hinks in his administration, became judge of the Superior Court of Canada and a member of the commission which codified the laws of Lower Canada. He enjoyed great popular confidence, though he also had come within the dangerous orbit of Papineau, and had some share in the drafting of the "Ninety-two resolutions," but he became more moderate, and better understood that the future of French Canada depended upon the introduction into its life of the new spirit manifested by La Fontaine and Cartier.[13] He indicated the shifting which had taken place in his mind and heart when he was conspicuous in the McNab-Morin Government. He was sent as a deputy of the Assembly to London and was member of the Committee of Canadian Exhibits in Paris.[14]

There was also Sir Narcisse Belleau who entered the Cartier-Macdonald ministry and, later on, was premier in a coalition government. Sir Etienne Pascal Taché played a conspicuous part in the War of 1812, occupied several positions of trust, and was premier with Sir John Macdonald after having been in the La Fontaine-Baldwin administration. He it was who, speaking of French Canadian loyalty, said, "The last gun that would be fired for British supremacy in America would be fired by a French Canadian." [15] He wished to see his country emerge from the Durham Union, and presented the case for the Federation to the Upper Chamber and, at the Quebec meeting of the representatives of the provinces for the same object, he was made president of the Conference. Sir J. A. Chapeleau was for some time also a colleague of Sir John Macdonald.

[13] *Index and Dictionary of Canadian History*, p. 267.
[14] Bibaud, jeune, *Dictionnaire historique des hommes illustres du Canada et de l'Amérique*, p. 228. [15] Bourinot, *Lord Elgin*, p. 56.

Sir Aimé Antoine Dorion was a most unselfish Liberal, and one of the noblest, purest, and greatest characters Canada ever produced.[16]

In the evolution of parties the movement which made possible the Macdonald-Cartier and the Cartier-Macdonald régime, also, by a reaction, brought about the grouping of the men whom we must call moderate Liberals. Later on, these men chose Laurier as their leader. In so doing they wished to resume the policy of La Fontaine and Baldwin which had so deeply entered into Canadian life that Sir John Macdonald barely touched it, though it received a bad twist at the time of the Federation when the people were not consulted. The advent of Laurier to the leadership of the Liberal party was another blow to the Durham theory of antagonistic races. The new leader, at the time, said, "There is not among us any domination of race upon race . . . the force of our race has been not to bring the race question into politics." [17] He frequently returns to that same theme and reiterates that these are not only his ideas but those of his kin. Cartier had made almost a similar statement.[18]

Sir Wilfrid Laurier was of humble origin. His grandfather, Charles Delaurier, was the inventor of the *loch terrestre,* another term for taximeter.[19] His son, like him, was a farmer and a surveyor and also inventor of what then "passed for a threshing machine." [20] Young Laurier, educated at the College of L'Assomption, graduated from the McGill Law School. He shared his father's liberal ideas and was early in favour of a policy of amity between victors and vanquished. A few years later, at a meeting of the graduates of this institution, he impressed his hearers by his earnestness when he said, "I pledge my honour that

[16] Charles Langelier, *Souvenirs politiques,* Vol. II, p. 102; Pope, *Memoirs of the Right Honourable Sir John Macdonald,* Vol. I, p. 341.
[17] *Discours,* p. 41. [18] Boyd, p. 223. [19] P. G. Roy, Vol. I, p. 198.
[20] Peter McArthur, *Sir Wilfrid Laurier,* p. 4.

I will give the whole of my life to the cause of conciliation, harmony, and concord amongst the different elements of this country of ours." [21] He ever recurs to the desirability of united action between the two peoples. This is perhaps the point from which he varied the least.

It has been customary to speak of him as if he had always been moderate, calm, cautious, and almost platonic in his early years. His assuming the editorship of *Le Défricheur*, in which he published radical (not radical to-day) articles that called for the thunders of the bishop of Three Rivers, was a most daring enterprise. An article, very unlike the Laurier that we know, published in *L'Electeur, The Den of Forty Thieves,* was a most terrible charge against some politicians of the province. M. Sénécal, one of those most severely taken to task, sued the paper for $100,000. Few among the intimate friends of this publication knew who the writer of the article was. Laurier came forward and declared himself to be the author. He was arrested and brought to Montreal. Three stars of the bar, George Irvine, C. A. Geoffrion, and Honoré Mercier, were to defend him; but he defended himself, becoming the accuser of the plaintiff, making crushing charges against him, a man considered all powerful. The proceedings lasted several days. The verdict of the jury entirely exonerated Laurier.

Raised into prominence by his force of character, his fine spirit, his culture in French and English letters, and his ability to address his countrymen of both nationalities in their vernacular and in superb literary language, he wielded an unusual power both in the Assembly in Quebec, where he was for a short time, and in the Parliament in Ottawa. Furthermore, the efforts to attain this bilingual and bicultural power had given him a mental self-control of signal value. Above all there was in him a passion for, nay, a faith in, the beneficence of freedom which made

[21] Peter McArthur, *Sir Wilfrid Laurier*, p. 19.

him above all an ethical leader. "Freedom breeds loyalty. Coercion always was the mother of rebellion." [22] "The Canadian people are free and loyal, loyal because they are free." [23] As a corollary of this he ever opposed political, religious, and social intolerance.

When Mr. D'Alton McCarthy, member of Parliament for North Simcoe, spoke twice of French Canadians as "that bastard race," Laurier said of him: "He is proud of his race, he has reason to be, but it does not follow that we should all be English Canadians, that we should all be melted into the Anglo-Saxon element. Surely no one respects or admires more than I do the Anglo-Saxon race; I have never concealed my feelings in that respect, but we, of French origin, are satisfied with what we are and we ask for nothing more. I claim for the race to which I belong the right to say that if it is not endowed with the same qualities as those of Anglo-Saxons it is endowed with some just as great; I claim the right to say that in some respects it is endowed with sovereign qualities; . . . that there is not under the sun a race more moral, more honest, and I will say, more intelligent." [24] His answer to that Irish-born Briton was to the point, fearless, true and, above all, dignified.

There is in his oratory a wide horizon of truth, a rich vocabulary coming from his cult of French and English letters, and a strong philosophical background. Some of his utterances have an Emersonian ethical elevation which contrasts with the commonplace utilitarianism of his Anglo-Saxon colleagues. "I believe," he says, "that as a party our interest lies where our duty does; I believe, like him [Sir A. A. Dorion], that we belong to different races, not to wage war on each other, but to work for our common well-being." [25-26] On another occasion he says, "I have affection

[22] Peter McArthur, *Sir Wilfrid Laurier*, p. 113. [23] *Ibid.*, p. 141.
[24] *Discours*, p. 297. [25-26] Moreau, *Sir Wilfrid Laurier*, p. 89.

for the English, the Scotch, and the others; the first place in my heart belongs to French Canadians, but the rights and privileges of the others are as sacred to me, and I must defend them." [27] Justice ever above sentiment. The idealistic and humanitarian earnestness of the man is shown in the following passage: "If in my last hours I can say that, at the cost of my efforts, one single error has disappeared, one single prejudice has melted away; that at the cost of my exertions, enmities of race have fled from the Canadian soil . . . I shall die happy with the conviction that my life has not been in vain." [28] This sounds like a reminiscence from Montesquieu. Here we would not say, like Buffon, "The style is the man," but what is truer, "the thought is the man."

"Of Sir Wilfrid and his subsequent career," says Sir Joseph Pope, "it does not devolve upon me to speak. I will only say that if his predecessors in the leadership of the Liberal party, for one cause or another, failed to realize the hopes of their political followers, he amply made up for their shortcomings by achieving signal success. Fortune, no doubt, was kinder to him than to them, but apart from all other questions, Sir Wilfrid's personal qualities had no small influence in bringing about his party triumphs. Alike in opposition and in power, his unfailing tact, old-fashioned courtesy, conciliatory methods, urbanity, moderation, and an unvarying good temper evoked the sympathy of thousands whom Blake's coldly intellectual feats failed to attract and Mackenzie's rigidity of demeanour served only to repel. Simultaneously with Laurier's advent to the leadership of the Opposition in 1887, a moderating influence began to be felt in the House of Commons, which gradually affected the whole tone of the political life of Canada, until the old-time bitterness of the party strife

[27] *Discours*, p. 426. [28] Moreau, p. 121.

in a large measure passed away." [29] Civility was an element of his power. Garneau speaks of French politeness introduced, in 1792, by Canadians in the bearing of the Chamber and in the debates, giving to that body an air of respectful seriousness which even the House of Commons of England lacked." [30]

For Laurier, who won a great Liberal victory in 1896, thanks to "his efforts and character," as J. W. Longley puts it,[31] the Dominion presented a signal opportunity for a wonderful experiment in nation-building. He used it well by gathering around him men of large calibre who did honour to his choice, a ministry extraordinarily able, "none so strong before or since." Mr. Peter McArthur has most felicitously summed up the record of the noble statesman.[32] His administration saw the end of chronic deficits, an era of surpluses, as great as the entire revenue in 1867,[33] while he secured the Imperial penny postage. He had the prosperity of the Dominion at heart, while he tried to have Quebec and Ontario live on better terms and to avoid the gusts of temper of extreme men of both provinces. He settled the school question, difficulties with Japan, with China, and India in a generous spirit of fair play and kindness. He did a great work for Canada when he fearlessly cast his fortunes on the side of England during the Transvaal War.[34] Then, as in the late war, he would have said: "The moment that Great Britain was at war Canada was at war." [35]

As Cartier saw limitless possibilities of Canadian enterprise and expansion, and was moved onward by the most optimistic vision of the great future of the country and did much to prepare the realization of the Canadian Pacific,

[29] *The Day of Sir John Macdonald*, p. 161.
[30] Vol. III, p. 91.
[31] *Sir Charles Tupper*, p. 235.
[32] *Sir Wilfrid Laurier*, pp. 135-136.
[33] Longley, p. 238.
[34] De Celles, *Laurier et son temps*, p. 80.
[35] McArthur, p. 111.

so Laurier prepared the plans for that remarkable railway, the Grand Trunk Pacific, and presented them to the Parliament on July 30, 1903.[36] While this road has been financially involved of late years, when its construction was proposed no thought of the contingencies of the war occurred to any one, and immigrants were flocking to Canada at the rate of one thousand a day.[37] The same remark applies to the Canadian Northern to which he granted subsidies. These roads have been taken up by the government, and with the development of the country they are bound to render the greatest service. He also had the honour of organising Alberta and Saskatchewan into federal provinces. French Canadians were the pioneers of the North-west. Cartier was the agent to annex that whole territory bought from the Hudson's Bay Company, and he it was who proposed in Parliament the establishment of Manitoba as a province. Laurier, in this direction, continued his work.

Sent to England for the Jubilee of the Queen, in 1897, he was conspicuous as he appeared among the members of the British Government and was treated with rare distinction. He charmed large and notable audiences in England as well as in Paris. Never had a statesman from America met a warmer reception in the most important capitals of Europe, or better served his country there. Already a doctor of laws from the universities of McGill and Toronto, he received the same honours in Oxford and Cambridge; was made honorary member of the Cobden Club, and Grand Officer of the Legion of Honour in Paris.[38] The government treated him royally, and the Queen invited him to Windsor where he had a reception "remarkable for its warmth." [39] She made him a member

[36] *Discours*, p. 317.
[37] De Celles, *Laurier*, p. 87.
[38] David, *Laurier et son temps*, p. 100.
[39] McArthur, p. 147.

of her Privy Council and gave him the great cross of the Order of St. Michael and St. George.[40]

Knighthood was seldom conferred upon a worthier spirit, though this was embarrassing. The recipient, who had asserted that he was "a democrat to the hilt," [41] believed that the titles of nobility of old Europe are but little compatible with the popular life of young America.[42] As he was seated at the right hand of the Queen he found a card upon which she herself had written, "Rt. Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier." How could he courteously have declined the honour? His personal merits had, long before, been discovered by Sir John Macdonald. "About a month before his death," Sir Joseph Pope tells us, "Laurier came to his office in the House of Commons to discuss some questions of adjournment. When he had gone the chief said to me, 'Nice chap, that. If I were twenty years younger he'd be my colleague,' " [43] a compliment that honours both men.

The political designs of the great French Canadian are clear, determined, consistent, and, above all, national. He felt that the great need, towering above every other, was Canadians, and, as Mr. Hawkes puts it, "Canadian Canadians." He was quite anxious to extend the privileges of the Dominion in its diplomatic relations, and he succeeded in securing, for his countrymen, the right to negotiate their own treaties if not to sign them. In fact, that has come. Important treaties were discussed by them and arranged with France, Japan, and the United States without any interference on the part of Britain.[44] Canada has now an embassy in Washington. He claimed political independence from London. He quotes the verses from Kipling,

"Daughter am I in my mother's house,
But mistress in mine own." [45]

[40] David, p. 98. [41] *Discours*, p. lxxii. [42] David, p. 99.
[43] *Memoirs*, Vol. I, p. 161. [44] De Celles, *Laurier*, p. 101.
[45] *Discours*, p. 7.

The tie which he emphasises between the mother country and the colony is that of gratitude, not that of material advantages. After having sent troops to South Africa he declined to accept Mr. Chamberlain's federative idea at the meeting of the premiers in London. He was afraid of the potential militarism of the great Imperialist and, above all, of surrendering even a particle of the freedom which had been slowly won. His principle was the development of self-defence—like Australia—by the creation of a navy which could help that of the empire, and a great beneficial tariff raised to 33 1-3 per cent on behalf of Britain. That was his way to contribute to the "British Empire which is not an empire at all, but an association of nations and countries, governed for the most part under the most democratic forms known to history." [46] In so doing he was maintaining the virtual independence of the Dominion.[47]

One of the *leitmotives* of most of his speeches is that Canada is really a free nation. "Canada is a nation"; [48] "as a matter of fact we are a nation," he said in Paris.[49] This he frequently repeats, but coupled with a deep sense of patriotic freedom. "I say it with pride, though Canada is still a colony, Canada is free." [50] "We have made a conquest, the conquest of liberty." [51] In Paris, before a French audience, alluding to the inscription "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity" on public buildings, he exclaims: "All that there is in that motto of bravery, of greatness and generosity, we have to-day in Canada; that is our conquest." [52] At the time of the war he expresses this conviction even more positively: "We are a free people, absolutely free. The charter under which we live has put it in our power to say whether we should take part in such a war or not. It is for the Canadian people, the Canadian Par-

[46] A. J. Glasebrook, in *The New Era*, p. 265.
[47] De Celles, *Laurier et son temps*, p. 83.
[48] *Discours*, p. 17. [49] *Ibid.*, p. 34. [50] *Ibid.*, p. 70.
[51] *Ibid.*, p. 85. [52] *Ibid.*, p. 33.

liament, and the Canadian Government alone to decide. This freedom is at once the glory and honour of Britain. Freedom is the key-note of all British institutions. There is no compulsion upon those dependencies of Great Britain which have reached the stature of dominions such as Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and such crown dependencies as India. They are all free to take part o: not as they think best. That is the British freedom which, much to the surprise of the world and greatly to the dismay of the German Emperor, German professors, and German diplomats, causes the rush from all parts of the British Empire to assist the Mother Country in this stupendous struggle." [53]

It is known now that "Responsible Government" in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State was instituted by the strong advice of Sir Wilfrid.[54] He it was who convinced President Loubet of the wisdom of an Anglo-French union which created a good understanding between the two nations dwelling north and south of the Strait of Dover.[55] Like most men on this side of the ocean he recognised the marvellous character of France, her courage and her heroic resistance to invaders; but he never went further. He often pointed out the detachment of his kindred from the Motherland. "I am sure," he said, "that I express the feelings of the French Canadian members of the Right when I say that if there were a consultation of the people in the province of Quebec and in all Canada to decide between allegiance to England or to France, there would not be a single vote in favour of a return to French allegiance." [56] That is still true.

He could sincerely say in London that he was "British to the core." [57] It looked like it. "I love England because

[53] McArthur, p. 113.
[54] *Ibid.*, p. 35; Hawkes, p. 350.
[55] McArthur, *Sir Wilfrid Laurier*, p. 32; De Celles, *Laurier et son temps*, p. 110; Skelton, *Life and Letters of Sir Wilfrid Laurier*, Vol. II, p. 302.
[56] *Discours*, p. 282.
[57] David, *Laurier*, p. 95.

she is the mother of free nations. I look up to her because she is the apostle of freedom. I admire her lofty ideals, her moral conscience, her high standards which she sets up. She is, it may be, a trifle puritanic, but she is the greatest moral asset in the world, and I admire her statesmen intensely—John Bright has been my mentor and idol, and, of course, Gladstone, as the great apostle of freedom, both fiscally and politically." [58] For him the British Empire is unique as compared with those that have risen and fallen. It rests upon "the great development of sympathy, of common thoughts and feelings between the men who are, for the most part, of the same race, who glory in the same historic past and face the same historic future." This empire he wishes to maintain "upon the basis of goodwill, sympathy, and mutual affection." The unity of this empire, though not formally organised, "exists as an active entity," [59] not only for itself, but for others. "I do not hesitate to affirm that the supremacy of the British Empire is absolutely essential for universal civilisation as well as for the maintenance of that empire itself." [60]

When an opportunity occurs he never fails to give vigorous utterance in praise of the British. Speaking of the Wolfe-Montcalm monument, forgetting the homely and provoking one of Nelson, in Montreal, he exclaims: "In what other country under the sun will you find such a monument reared to the memory of the defeated as well as the victors?" [61] When in London he sees Dr. Jameson and Botha together at a banquet he bursts forth into a dithyrambic strain: "I proclaim that one people only is capable of such conduct and that people is the English people." [62] The eloquent leader ought to have been ready to admit that the France that won over Provence, reconciled the Basques and the Bretons, not to speak of the attachment of

[58] McArthur, p. 30. [59] *Discours*, p. 18. [60] *Ibid.*, p. 452.
[61] *Ibid.*, p. 107. [62] *Ibid.*, p. 27.

the Alsatians heart and soul, in her ability to draw and to attach to herself annexed peoples, could make as good a display as those who have so long ruled Canada and Ireland. Still, he also said, "Let us be true to our double origin, true to the memory and reverence of the great nation from which we have sprung, and true also to the great nation that has given us freedom." [63]

This dualism in Laurier's feelings and admiration is reflected even in much of his thought. He often shows himself true to the ideals of both. There are in his utterances passages like the following: "Let our purpose be ideal and our action be practical." [64] This is a splendid blending of the instincts of the two peoples. Do not be *terre-à-terre* in your aims, that is the French way; but when you soar high in the realm of the ideal do not attach your chariot to a star, be practical; that is British. In all things he had the rare gift of scale and measure and a rare sense of reality. Through his ability, tact, and gentleness the fifteen years of his régime passed in an atmosphere of harmony between the peoples of the country and in an almost fraternal entente.[65]

He was overthrown by the Borden-Bourassa coalition. Posterity will judge severely that surrender of political principles, that alliance of antagonistic extremes. As a consequence of it, during the war, parliamentarian ideals were set one side to make place for personal government, or a parliamentary oligarchy [66] tantamount to a dictatorship. In the opposition the man who had passed such able and generous judgments upon his antagonists, Sir George Cartier and Sir John Macdonald,[67] showed his usual patriotism and greatness of soul in his co-operation with war aims. When he was taken away the best men of the land felt

[63] McArthur, p. 103.
[64] Moreau, p. 159.
[65] De Celles, *Laurier et son temps*, p. 96.
[66] Hawkes, *The Birthright*, Ch. X.
[67] *Discours*, pp. 130, 133, 135, 427.

that a great, gentle, intelligent, and beneficent force had departed from the quick of Canadian life, and that this eminent Christian gentleman, perhaps more than any other political leader, had all along given not only an example of as righteous a government as in our state of society it is possible to have, but also one of practical religious ethics. "He had been," says Mr. Peter McArthur, "almost half a century in active politics; forty-six years a salient figure in Parliament; a leader of the Liberal party for thirty years; Prime Minister for fifteen years." [68] Never did the death of a Canadian excite among friends and opponents such profound regret.

The spirit and ethics of the man stand out in singular relief in a fragment of one of his addresses before the Young Liberals of Western Ontario: "As for you who stand to-day on the threshold of life . . . I shall remind you that many problems rise before you: problems of race divisions, problems of creed differences, problems of economic conflict, problems of national duty and national aspirations. Let me tell you that for the solution of these problems you have a safe guide, an unfailing light, if you remember that faith is better than doubt and love better than hate. . . . Banish doubt and hate from your life. Let your souls be ever open to the strong promptings of faith and the gentle influence of brotherly love. Be adamant against the haughty; be gentle and kind to the weak. Let your aim and your purpose, in good report or in ill, in victory or in defeat, be so to live, so to strive, so to serve, as to do your part to raise the standards of life to higher and better spheres." [69] This is worthy of the utterances of the greatest ethical teachers of our time.

[68] *Sir Wilfrid Laurier*, p. 1.

[69] *Ibid.*, p. 93.

CHAPTER VIII

THE QUEBEC GOVERNMENT

THE Quebec Government was, in the Federation, a return to French autonomous life; often menaced, and twice nominally interrupted, but without absolute break of continuity. Less individualistic than their conquerors, French Canadians formed groups of intense friendship that became the root of their politics. When British traders endeavoured to ostracise them, and virtually deprived them of all their rights as British subjects, of all functions and of all honours, they kept close to each other. The unfairness of their isolation led them to seek the protection of the clergy. When prevented from having French law, French lawyers, and French judges, they settled most of their difficulties by arbitration.[1] Compelled by their conscience to avoid British schools which, in their eyes, were means to anglicise and to protestantise them, they established their own. By being true to their own selves they showed a moral superiority that was bound to carry the day. Coming at an early date to understand their constitutional rights, they gradually claimed them. Though the masses were ignorant, somewhat as the masses were in the other provinces, the *élite* were far in advance of the English Canadians. Their strength came from an unfair treatment which forced them to live under a virtual moral republic.

Every militant and coercive act of the victors was ultimately turned to advantage. Lord North said in the British Parliament "I am sure that no bishop will be there under

[1] Cavendish, pp. 111, 119; Garneau, Vol. II, p. 386.

papal authority." [2] Bishop Plessis had great difficulties, as has been already pointed out, in getting recognised as bishop. He first asked that his title be, "Superintendent of the Roman Catholic Church in Quebec," and then, that of "Roman Catholic Bishop of Quebec." [3] This was finally granted. When the British Government objected to the establishment of bishops-coadjutors they were called *Suffragans* and auxiliaries to the bishop of Quebec.[4] By the constancy and tact of those most concerned there is not an episcopate in the world more absolutely under the Vatican than that of Quebec. They now have, for the whole of Canada, a cardinal, five archbishops, and over twenty titular bishops.

French Canadians were not consulted for their constitution in 1791, for their union with Upper Canadians, nor for the Federation. Thanks to their intelligent use of their constitutional privileges and the practical wisdom of their leaders, they attained complete freedom. Quebec became one of the freest governments on earth; a government, right or wrong, such as the people wanted. Under the Union their leaders had had a valuable political training which they brought into their provincial Assembly, as representatives could have membership in both parliaments. Thus Cartier, who had been at the political helm during a part of that period, was a member in Ottawa and in the Parliament of Quebec, and did much to introduce properly the new order among his kinsmen. Though this double representation was given up later on it did good at the start. The purpose contemplated in the new government was to place the laws and institutions of the province beyond the possibility of external interference.

The British Constitution and the British Parliament are such masterpieces of statecraft that they have served as models to the most liberal institutions of the world. The

[2] Cavendish, p. 12. [3] Bibaud, pp. 257, 267. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 180.

constitution of Quebec is almost a miniature of that of Ottawa, which patterns itself after Westminster. Like the national Canadian organisation, that of French Canada has self-government, except that the lieutenant-governor is appointed by the governor-general in Council. Similarly the Legislative Council is chosen by the lieutenant-governor in Council.[5] The Legislative Assembly is practically elected by manhood suffrage, and constitutes a very intelligent and honest body. The representatives of the two organisations sit in the Parliament Building where, to use Mr. Beckles Willson's words, "the life of the living is blended with the glory of the dead." Both these legislative bodies have copied the ancient forms and usages of the British Parliament, and honour both French and English law. Strange to say, there was realised, in a felicitous way the purpose of Lord North, discussing the Quebec Act in the Parliament, when he said: "That it is desirable to give the Canadians a constitution in every respect like the constitution of Great Britain, I will not say, but I earnestly hope that they will enjoy as much of our laws and as much of our constitution as may be beneficial for that country, and safe for this." [6]

At times their Parliament has been a great storm centre. There was the *coup d'état* of Lieutenant-Governor Letellier de St. Just, and his out-and-out partisan dismissal by Sir John Macdonald; the scandal of Minister Cauchon, interested in the Beauport Insane Asylum from which he had drawn about $15,000 a year through the use of it by the province. Ouimet was forced to resign on account of the "landswap scandal." There was the Mercier and the Baie-des-Chaleurs Railway accusations, by his antagonists, of a corruption which Sir Wilfrid said had not been established [7] and M. Charles Langelier has quite conclusively shown did

[5] See for the government of the Dominion, Bourinot, *How Canada Is Governed,* Toronto, 1909.

[6] Cavendish, p. 248.

[7] Skelton, Vol. I, p. 434.

not exist.[8] Unquestionably there has been political looseness in the Laurentian province though irregularities have been more common than corrupt practices, but is it fair for others to throw stones at French Canadians as if they were the only sinners? However, the ideal of popular weal is quite high and the efficiency of the body satisfactory. Cartier was accustomed to say that this Parliament was superior to that of Ontario.[9]

The ministers are active, but one does not find in their offices the feverish and rushing spirit of American states, and withal one meets there traditional politeness and urbanity. A peculiarity of this government is that the work of education is not so much a ministry as a detached administration, kept out of the accidents and fluctuations of politics.[10] This important subject is studied elsewhere. After the Church, which everywhere touches so potently the general spirit of the province, the government is the great determinant of all activities towards preserving and developing the life of the country with a minimum of historical and racial friction. The rapidly growing political intelligence of the people is a great factor in this direction. The output from the legislative machine is far superior to that of some other provinces and neighbouring states.

It must be admitted that, so far as leadership is concerned, the English population has been submerged everywhere, but its fundamental rights have been respected, and that with a comity and tact not to be found in any of the provinces dealing with French Canadian minorities. In 1807 Mr. Hart, a Jew, was expelled from the Assembly as he would have been from the British Parliament, but in 1832 Hebrews were granted political rights, while it

[8] Langelier, *Souvenirs politiques*, Vol. II, p. 113.

[9] Watkins, *Canada and the States*, p. 463.

[10] See for the history of this organization, Boucher de la Bruère, *Le Conseil de l'Instruction publique et le Comité catholique*. Paul de Caze, *L'Instruction publique dans la province de Québec*.

was only a quarter of a century later that England lifted her political ban. Since then Jews have again and again been elected by French Canadian voters. Meanwhile, Anglo-Canadians have taken eminent positions in the Cabinet and have had the direction of English education. If Lord Acton's test of freedom is true that it exists in proportion to "the amount of security enjoyed by minorities," that of the province stands high. Twenty years ago, John Morley was so impressed by results that he said, "Quebec might have helped to show us how to settle the Irish question." [11]

The first premier, P. J. O. Chauveau, was a poet, an orator, and a strong man. His statesmanship was not of the first magnitude, but he influenced greatly the Parliament. One of its early characteristics was the importance which it ascribed to rhetoric, and its pronounced leanings towards letters. It had some of the traits of a literary society, and in fact they have not as yet disappeared from parliamentary life. Robert Christie says that the "Assembly of Lower Canada were invariably liberal patrons of literature, sciences, the diffusion of knowledge and the arts." [12] Hence we often find classical allusions and a literary fervour in their debates. This, which has been greatly modified, has its dangers. The youthful Laurier, unjustly making Chauveau responsible for the emigration of his countrymen to the United States, pictured "50,000 sturdy Canadians filing in slow and unbroken column past the minister, on their way to exile in the Republic, crying, Romanwise, *'Ave, migraturi te salutant.'* " [13] The fancy of the literary imagination, instead of facts; the excessive play of antitheses, of metaphors and hyperbole have their æsthetic uses in literature, but they may be perilous in a parliament.

[11] *Recollections*, Vol. II, p. 108. [12] Vol. III, p. 287.
[13] Skelton, Vol. I, p. 115.

Their refined manners may not always have served the best interests of the province. We are told that Sir Henry Joly and Chauveau, of different parties, vied with each other in their reciprocal courtesy. Joly almost excused himself when he attacked Chauveau, and Chauveau replied in most gracious forms.[14] However, political necessities demanded peculiar strategic action. The two parties were at times so evenly represented that when one or two members were absent the opposition would try to make a motion that would put the government in the minority. One day a member of the Assembly started from Montreal on a special train to arrive on time for the vote, his colleagues speaking to retard it.[15] In such a process of obstruction, while T. G. Marchand was holding his audience, the Speaker yielded his place to the Dean of the Parliament, unnoticed by the obstructionist who, when he saw the change, wittily said, "I did not know, Mr. Speaker, that I had spoken so long. When I began you were a young man; now I have before me a venerable old gentleman with a white beard." To this the speaker replied, "One grows old rapidly in listening to such debates."[16]

Among the successors of Chauveau was Adolphe Chapleau, later on, Sir Adolphe Chapleau, also a Conservative. Rising from the masses he not only directed the Cabinet of the province but attained important federal honours and became lieutenant-governor, a position which he held from 1892 to 1898. A man of most impressive appearance and force, he had a sweeping eloquence whereby he dominated the masses when he addressed them. This art counts for more here than in any part of North America. The French Canadian may be easily roused by any forensic powers, and those of Chapleau were of the highest order. At times he studded his discourses with generalisations that

[14] Ab der Halden, *Etudes de Littérature canadienne française*, p. 313.
[15] Langelier, *Souvenirs*, Vol. I, p. 103.
[16] F. G. Marchand, *Mélanges poétiques et littéraires*, p. viii.

had a real poetic lilt. Having succeeded in founding in Montreal the *Crédit franco-canadien,* with French capital, he said, *"Nous avons réussi à donner du sentiment au capital."* [17] After the *coup d'état* of Lieutenant-Governor Letellier, insisting that the utterances of this gentlemen were unimportant, he exclaimed: *"Faites taire la voix de Spencer Wood,*[18] *et laissez parlet la voix du peuple."* [19] Some shadows have hung over his administration, but he led the province onward and turned the people's attention toward public works.

Honoré Mercier, a Liberal premier, pushed forward the development of the country. A great service which he rendered was the settlement of the property of the Jesuits which for a long time had proven advantageous to British officials and was valued at more than $2,000,000.[20] For this the celebrated order received $400,000 as a compensation. Owing to doubtful uses of the fund by those who had its custody and the irritating statements of the members of the Society of Jesus, and of Catholics at large, a constant cause of friction was removed. One may not approve the principle upon which Catholics and Protestants were benefitted by this, but from the point of view of internal peace it was a happy compromise like the settlement of the clergy reserves in Upper Canada. Mercier was first in giving support to the project of building the Quebec Bridge the importance of which he at once realised. He coped with the crying need for means of communication, roads and bridges, abolished toll-roads, and created a homestead for fathers of twelve living children.[21] By his visit to France he contributed to the *rapprochement* that has been going on steadily during the last twenty years.[22] Indefatigable, resourceful, large-minded, his ministry con-

[17] Hulot, p. 162.
[18] Name of the residence of the lieutenant-governor.
[19] Langelier, Vol. I, p. 72.
[20] Langelier, Vol. I, p. 312.
[21] Langelier, Vol. II, p. 20.
[22] *Ibid.*, p. 100.

tributed much to the present development of Quebec. While the Equalrightists of Ontario were so unfair with him he urged the Quebec Parliament to vote $10,000 to help the rebuilding of Toronto University.[23]

Among the premiers of Quebec Sir Lomer Gouin seems the greatest. In many ways heir of the spirit and of the work of Mercier, he was elevated to his high position in happier times, and soon demonstrated that he was the leader that the province needed. A strong Liberal, without abstract theories, a genuine pragmatist, he directed and helped in every way the great impulse of provincial life. The writer has heard him twice. In Parliament the leader of the Opposition had assailed him with insinuations of inordinate length, which a tactful orator would have confined to a few minutes. In the evening Sir Lomer made an admirable speech, dealing at first with kindly appreciations of parliamentary life, delivered in a very gentle tone and spirit in which he showed a subtle balance of moral judgment, the serene composure born of a sense of strength, justice, and kindliness. Then he literally stunned his opponent by assertions that were crushing. Facts, facts, brutal facts, and positive denials were hurled at the antagonist whose interruptions only gave the premier time to prepare heavier blows.

At the opening of the political campaign of 1919, in the large hall of St. Roch, a part of Quebec, he was the leading orator. His discourse was a splendid summing up of the results of his administration. He seemed to have focussed, with measure, before his hearers every aspect of the progress made, leaving a clear and strong impression of improvements in every direction. All this was said forcibly, without any visible effort for terms, in a strong, constructive, popular language, with the strength of a Moses breaking the tables of the Decalogue. One had the sense of

[23] Langelier, Vol. II, p. 275.

being in the presence of a courageous leader, a vigorous administrator, ever matter-of-fact in an idealistic country, and putting at the same time much ideal into the working of practical national problems.

His personal influence has been felt in all that makes for progress in the province, and especially in education, which he has greatly helped. He wished to see a normal school in every district and all schools to be more practical. He realized that the old classical education must be vivified by its contact with science, and both be applied to modern problems. To him the province owes those technical schools of Montreal and of Quebec whose buildings and equipment are justly admired, and where French Canada takes precedence over the provinces. So it was with the Superior School of High Commercial Studies of Montreal. No one has displayed a greater interest than he in the rebuilding of the university of that city. He it was who first incited the government of the province to give each university, McGill, Laval, and Montreal, $1,000,000.

His successor, the Hon. Louis Alexandre Taschereau, has assumed the heavy responsibilities which many thought might be Saul's armour, but he has displayed qualities of statesmanship which give him a prominent place among the prime ministers of the Dominion. He has worked with singular vigour for the mastery of the natural resources of the country, the extension of railroads, the provincial care of all country roads, and the building of new ones. He has had enacted a temperance law which permits the moderate use of wine, beer, and other alcoholic drinks, secured in small quantities from provincial agents, though it respects the principle of local option in the rural districts. He thereby courageously faced teetotallers and the liquor trade and secured for the province a revenue from that source of $4,000,000. American labor unions interfering with French Canada found him unyielding. He has pushed with all his

might the extension and improvement of agriculture. His administration has made an annual grant of $10,000 to each of the classical colleges, established fifteen scholarships for students in Europe, and provided small ones for students in agriculture. There has been created a central branch of the archives, a commission for the preservation of historic monuments, a school of fine arts and a museum in the city of Quebec, and also a museum and school of fine arts in Montreal. There has been founded an annual prize of literature of $5,000, called *Prix David.* This name was given in recognition of the Hon. Louis Athanase David, the eloquent and efficient secretary of the province, the indefatigable advocate of higher culture. Among the further moves forward is the design to establish a great museum of natural history. The administration is greatly helped by the able, genial, and devoted undersecretary, M. C. J. Simard, whose knowledge of public institutions, his enthusiastic loyalty, and executive talent have made him one of the most efficient officials of French Canada.

The vacant lands of the province, hitherto owned by the central government, were turned over to Quebec.[24] To this was added the territory of Ungava, claimed by Mercier and secured by Sir Lomer from the federal government. The whole territory of the province covers 706,834 square miles, 23,000,000 acres of which are fit for agriculture.[25] The forests have 130,000,000 acres, 80,000,000 of which are the absolute possession of the province, where the possibilities of pulp-making are limitless. A few years ago Mr. E. T. D. Chambers said that the sylvan resources were worth $500,000,000.[26] The Hon. L. A. Taschereau speaks of an increased revenue of $1,000,000 in 1920 from this source and the prospect of making the total amount before long

[24] De Celles, *Canada and Its Provinces,* Vol. XV, p. 175.
[25] *Statistical Year Book,* 1917, p. 135.
[26] *Canada and Its Provinces,* Vol. XV, p. 540.

$5,000,000. The government has contributed to the establishment of a School of Forestry in Laval University; sent four students to study in the best schools of Europe, and so far sixty forestry engineers have entered public or private service to secure the best possible exploitation of the forests. A most systematic way of protection against fires has been organized, with hydro-airplanes, to help in discovering and fighting this stupendous destroyer of forests. The waterfalls are estimated at 6,335,000 horse-power, of which 300,000 only are in use, but enormous dams are increasing this power with startling rapidity. Mines are gaining in importance. Lately the administration voted $400,000 to help fisheries in various ways to reap the harvest of Canadian waters. The manufacturers turn out over $900,000,000 worth of merchandise. While formerly imports exceeded exports, during the war the latter surpassed the former by 30 per cent. In the coöperation of the state everything points to sound social economics and the minimum possibility of graft and gambling speculation.

Sir Lomer Gouin did not yield to the temptation of most democratic governments in the matter of extravagant expenses. From the beginning of his administration in 1905 there was an improvement in the provincial finances, and from 1906 on there were steady, annual surpluses, showing a careful management. This was the only province that had such a balance—$5,000,000 last year—on the right side and which during the war had no moratorium. According to Premier Taschereau, in 1921 provincial debts per capita were $18.00 for Quebec, $42.00 for Ontario, $61.00 for British Columbia, $69.00 for Alberta, and $82.00 for Manitoba. During that year Quebec borrowed money at 5½ per cent while Ontario paid 7½ per cent. This government has also been interested in the culture of the people. It has, in a certain measure, protected writers, bought some of their works for distribution, given state positions to

them, and sent them on official missions. Under the last two premiers every organization had to move forward, and to aim at an ever larger and larger usefulness. The improvements were not merely those of education, of roads, of colonisation, of industry, of mining, of agriculture, and of finances, but the use of these to make the country instinct with life and vigour.

Rural ways are undergoing great modifications. During visits which the writer made to Canada he talked with one of the ablest French Protestant ministers who when various matters were discussed and progress was admitted would exclaim: *"Ah! ça, ça a bien changé."* Lord Durham could no longer say, "Lower Canada remains without municipal institutions of local self-government, which are the foundation of Anglo-Saxon freedom and civilisation," [27] but this was not true of England, which then, and much later, had "no local self-government." [28] This has lost something of its former absoluteness and gained by the growing popular representation. As Mr. Hopkins phrases it, "A churchwarden is yearly elected in each parish by majority vote. . . . The municipal council which looks after the highways, liquor licences, etc., has several members—not all—elected yearly; the school board also has its commissioners chosen annually." [29] Furthermore about 40,000 square miles of their territory [30] are organized into 1,357 rural and urban municipalities.[31] Montreal and Quebec have most complex and complete organizations which meet their needs. The stranger notices that the French have avoided those mathematical conceptions which have been the bane of their old home beyond the ocean.

M. Léon Gérin, a French Canadian sociologist notices

[27] *Report*, p. 69.
[28] Matthew Arnold, *Letters*, Vol. II, pp. 391, 392 and 396; J. Morley, Vol. I, p. 166.
[29] *French Canada*, p. 296.
[30] *Statistical Year Book*, 1917, p. 127.
[31] *Municipal Statistics*, 1922, p. v.

that the old organisation yields to the new, and that the parochial institution has no longer the same prestige as formerly, nor as much authority. "The advent of large shops has diminished the social importance of traditional institutions, the *Rang* [32] and the parish."[33] Rural life is gradually being developed. Improvements, such as water-works and road-building, are seen everywhere. Upon this last item the coöperation of municipalities and the province has been telling. The government participation has arisen from $75,000 in 1894-1895 to $30,000,000 from 1912 to 1920. The Liberal administration has spent more than $40,000,000 for good roads. The railroads have been extended. The Hon. L. A. Taschereau has stated that the Temiscaming country is soon to be joined to the city of Quebec by a railroad and that Lake St. Jean is likewise to be encompassed. There is now in the province an outburst of energy of singular importance.

The administration receives valuable coöperation from its councils of men of distinction who give the benefit of their experience. One of the most important of these councils is the Superior Board of Health which looks after all hygienic problems, whatever be their character. At the present time it is particularly fighting tuberculosis and venereal diseases. The government has voted $100,000 to buy radium to help the cure of cancer. There was created a Municipal Health commission in each of the municipalities of the province which to further this work has divided the inhabited parts into ten districts, each one of them supervised by a professional hygienist.[34] An enormous amount of work is done in the primary schools of the cities towards personal hygiene. A physical self-knowledge is, by various agencies, entering into the people's life.

[32] A long road with farms on both sides.
[33] *Royal Society*, III, Vol. II, p. 48.
[34] *Le Rôle du Conseil Supérieur d'Hygiène de la Province de Québec*, p. 2.

The judicial machinery has its task simplified by the high moral tone of the population due, in a large measure, to religious influence. The power of the Church, though not stimulating for the intellect, is a great force of conduct. No people live in greater independence of formal laws and their coercive action than they. The Duke of Connaught is reported to have said that what impressed him most in the province was the fact that 384 municipalities had no policeman.[35] The Hon. L. A. Taschereau has stated that the number of communities without policemen is 1,200.[36] In three jails, visited in five days by the writer, none of the prisoners was a French Canadian. From May 31, 1916, to June 1, 1918, there was no prisoner at all in the Roberval jail. Never as yet in that county has any one been condemned to death. In the large district of Montreal eighty-five per cent of the population are French, and in the city itself there are two French Canadians for one man of any other nationality; but in the Bordeaux prison of the same city for the whole district there are two men of other nationalities for one native. In sixty years there were twenty-three cases of capital punishment, but only three were French Canadians. What a record as compared with that of Sing Sing, New York, where, since 1890, 291 men and two women have been electrocuted. It is evident that the fundamental moral relations of the social organism—respect for human life, marriage, property, traditional social order—are firm and steady.

Another important force is not only the bilingual character of the province but the fact that the French language is really dominant, though English has exactly the same rights in Parliament, in the courts, and in all public functions. The French is good when we compare it class with class—except with the highest society of Paris—with that of the people of France. French Canada has not several languages like

[35] *La Vérité*, February 1, 1919. [36] Taschereau, p. 17.

the old homeland—the Provençal, the Basque, the Breton, and the Flemish, which have left their traces upon the national tongue, and no dialect. When the early settlers arrived from various districts of France they were really forced to drop their individual linguistic peculiarities and rally around what was fundamental, and their leaders and administrators were educated and cultivated men. It may be doubted whether the axmen of France have a much better speech than those connected with Quebec forests. The common middle class, whose parlance has been improved with the new education, speak as good French as the same people living in communities equally distant from large centres in France. In Quebec this class is not a subordinate one, as in France, but is predominant.

A French gentleman from Normandy came to settle in Canada. The writer asked him how the French of his Canadian district compared with that of the village which he had recently left. He unhesitatingly stated that the speech about him in the New World was better. The clergy, the legal profession, and the journalists use a more elegant speech than the sons of their conquerors. This has deeply affected their national spirit, deepened their attachment to their traditions, and helped the survival of much that came from France. It gives to their thought that character of universality which is a characteristic of French conceptions, even when their lives are riveted to local interests, and thereby they have kept their sensibility responsive to anything connected with general civilisation.

Their laws are among the ties binding them most with the past, and to these they cling with great loyalty. According to Dean F. P. Walton, those who prepared the Federation intended "to leave to each province its complete autonomy in regard to matters that did not affect persons outside its limits." [37] Some of the laws of the Dominion are the same

[37] *Canada and Its Provinces,* Vol. XV, p. 267.

for all provinces, eight of which have English law, and Quebec has the civil law which rests largely upon Roman law. It was imported from France, adapted to the needs of the colony, and codified under Cartier. We do not speak of the criminal nor of the commercial laws which are English. It is interesting to be told by this most philosophical jurist that these last laws are really French and Dutch customs raised to English legal dignity.[38] Though French laws were guaranteed by especial acts in 1774, 1791, 1840, and 1867, there have been persistent efforts to put some aside.

At the time of the Federation laws formerly under the supervision of the province became federal and thereby a part of the common law. The federal laws have affected the civil law of Quebec in the same way. The Privy Council, the Supreme Court, and some of the magistrates of the province, making a great use of precedents, insert into their decisions the English legal principle. The federal Parliament forces upon Quebec laws with a strict English spirit, at times textually copied from Westminister. The great politician who for so long was the leader of conservative Canadians, Sir John Macdonald, saw clearly that the laws of Lower Canada were becoming every day more like those of Ontario.[39] A cursory reading of the paper of W. J. White, K.C., entitled *Sources and Development of the Law of the Province of Quebec,* will convince one that the expansion of life has brought laws which more and more tend to narrow the sphere of those derived from France.

While admitting the force of things, the momentum of history which curtails the constitutional rights of the Quebeckers, we must recognise that these are invaded in other directions. Did not Dr. Harper, an inspector of the Protestant schools, take the lead of a noisy campaign to

[38] *Canada and Its Provinces,* Vol. XV, p. 265; *The Scope and Interpretation of the Civil Code of Lower Canada,* p. 21.

[39] Pope, *Memoirs,* Vol.. I, p. 223.

have in Ottawa the foundation of a Department of Education controlling all the schools of the Dominion? [40-41] By the British North American Act, the province is absolutely autonomous in such matters. Later on, Dr. Roddick of Montreal, dean of the McGill Medical School, agitated the project of a Medical Federal Bureau controlling medical education and granting a degree enabling Canadian physicians to practise in every part of the country.[42] After this Mr. Robbins, a principal of the McGill Normal School, proposed a central board of examiners over the normal schools, with diplomas valid all over the provinces. This is contrary to the Pact of 1867. In the halls of the federal legislature the two languages stand on a footing of parity, but Anglo-Canadians take pleasure in needlessly hurting the feelings of their sensitive fellow-subjects on this point. The Hon. L. A. Taschereau, when honoured by the University of Toronto with the degree of Doctor of Laws, entered an eloquent and tactful caveat that ought to be heeded. When some federalists attempted to interfere with the liquor laws the eloquent premier uttered a fearless "Hands off Quebec!"

To return to the laws. Few are the cultivated French Canadians who do not see that there would be gains by the unification of the national laws, but the reverse is also true. Quebec laws are stated in French, which is a more concise and precise language than English, and thereby is more scientific and more judicial. Whatever be the beauty, the poetry, the more imaginative character, the structural simplicity and power of English, it lacks the precise potentiality of the French. A signal example of this is found at the end of an agreement between Newfoundland and the British Government. In a glossary joined to the document one reads the following explanatory clause: "Words importing the masculine include females, and words in the

[40-41] Boucher de la Bruère, *Le Conseil de l'Instruction publique et le Comité catholique*, p. 216; *Education et constitution*, p. 9. [42] *Ibid.*, p. 10.

singular shall include the plural, and words in the plural shall include the singular." [43] Here we have an official admission of the vagueness and indefiniteness of English. French, with the number and gender of its nouns, its articles, adjectives and pronouns, the magnificent keyboard of its verbs, and, above all, the magic effect of its subjunctive, is the most accurate linguistic tool of modern times; the clearest and the most logical.

French Canadian laws, simpler, clearer, more philosophical, tracing each case to some fundamental principle, though not averse to being benefitted by the light of precedents, are more favourable to justice. The people also are fully aware that they are a part of their very being, like their language, their literature, their art, and their religion. For them the great functional aspects of their existence as a people are, to use Clemenceau's famous metaphor, a *bloc*. In the eyes of many of them, they are like Rupert's Drop; if you break an almost invisible part of it the whole is shattered. By nothing is French Canada greater than by its science of law. The federal laws are accepted and adhered to loyally, but the old French laws are clung to with patriotic emotion.

Quebec is proud of its general attainments and of its life. While it has a great attachment to the Crown it resists the forces that would materialise and denationalise it. As a whole, it is less likely to be dragged down by the Big Interests or absorbed by the United States than the other provinces. Its rise has been great in spite of handicaps, and few are the phases of its life in which there has not been progress. One notices a great though slow and steady adaptation to the new demands of the times, and a striking departure from the traditional spirit of fixity. Not dominated by economic and plutocratic ideals it is rather swayed by standards of eternal values. The working classes

[43] *Draft of a Bill Carrying Out Into Effect Her Majesty's Engagement with France Respecting the Fisheries*, 1891.

have been the calmest and the steadiest on the continent, so much so that labour disturbances in Western Canada have created a tidal wave of Anglo-Canadian opinion more favourable to the French, now viewed as one of the best of national assets. *The Gazette* not long ago called them "A sane people," and commenting on an address of Sir Andrew Macphail, in the same sense, *The Star* calls them "The Balance Wheel" of the Dominion. Come what will, French Canadian energy expresses itself in the wise though late evolution of the most contented state in America.

CHAPTER IX

BRITISH CONSTRUCTIVE WORK AND ITS INFLUENCE

IT has been accepted as an absolute and indisputable fact that French Canadians are exceedingly conservative and make no advance, while the English, open-minded, represent all forms of improvement. It must be remembered that these sons of France were long like their southern neighbours and like many other peoples. The idea of progress was then far from popular even among New Englanders and the inhabitants of the Maritime Provinces. Still French Canadians moved forward in many ways. Quebec College antedated Harvard, and Montreal had a college less than a score of years after New York. The city of the great Champlain had a literary club in the latter half of the eighteenth century,[1] and a literary society as early as 1809. Two French Canadians were then members of the Academy of Sciences of Paris.[2] It is estimated that in 1765 there were 60,000 volumes in private libraries. Mr. Ægidius Fauteux, the learned director of the St. Sulpice Library, Montreal, gives us the list of a personal collection of over four hundred well-selected volumes.[3] M. Charles Deschenaux, who died in 1832, had a library of several thousand volumes.[4] These facts are indices of a certain activity in the realm of ideas and culture.

Professor B. Silliman, an eminent scientist connected with

[1] Lareau, *Mélanges historiques et littéraires,* p. 193; Faucher de Saint-Maurice, *Loin du pays,* Vol. II, p. 394.
[2] J. E. Roy, *Royal Society,* III, Vol. III, p. xiv.
[3] *Les Bibliothèques canadiennes,* p. 17.
[4] *Les Ursulines,* Vol. IV, p. 476.

Yale University, was very much impressed in 1819 by what the French had done. "I see nothing," he says, "that has excited my surprise more in Canada than the number of institutions, many of them of the highest importance, and all of them (according to their views) possessing that character. They are more extraordinary when we consider that most of them are more than a century old, and that at the time of their foundation the colony was feeble, and almost constantly engaged in war." [5] Moreover, he sees that their vigourous life has yielded but little to the conquerors. "Indeed," he says, "it is wonderful that sixty years of subjection to a foreign power have not done more to weaken French establishments and institutions in Canada. They not only remain for the most part, but in most instances, seem to have gained in vigour, and everything still bears a thousand times more the appearance of a French than of an English country." [6] This survival was the result of an intense life not devoid of progressive elements.

The intendant, Jean Talon, introduced and encouraged the growing of hemp and flax. He sent out in every direction prospectors who discovered iron ore at Three Rivers, and copper mines north of Lake Superior. Ships were built in Quebec as early as 1666, and twelve years later La Salle had a vessel on Lake Erie "whose white wings carried consternation to the Indian hearts on the shore." [7] This intendant sent some of these vessels to the West Indies with produce from the Canadian fields and forests. He had tar manufactured. He produced iron of a very good quality, and, what is remarkable, as many as one hundred and fifty men were engaged in that industry.[8] As far back as 1671 Talon informed the government at Paris that "he could, if

[5] *Remarks Made on a Short Tour Between Hartford and Quebec,* p. 344.
[6] *Ibid.,* p. 362.
[7] Hopkins, *The Progress,* p. 55.
[8] De Celles, *Canada and Its Provinces,* Vol. XV, p. 38.

necessary, clothe himself from head to foot with Canadian-made garments." [9]

As early as 1707 there was an organisation for the catching of the large porpoises of the St. Lawrence.[10] At a much later date, a process was discovered for the tanning of their skins.[11] Quebec produced whale leather, though that animal had the reputation of having no hide.[12] Perthuis was authorized by Hocart to manufacture salt at Kamouraska.[13] There was a slate quarry. J. B. Gatien in 1731 was appointed to visit it, and to suggest improvements in its exploitation.[14] Nicholas de Langloiserie in 1734 had a mission to study a lead mine at the Portage du Chats and had for years the privilege of building windmills upon boats on the St. Lawrence.[15] A little over half a century later Julien Dubuque settled in Iowa to mine lead ores.[16] The clock-maker, Dubois, made or invented some of his tools.[17] Champagne, of the same trade, built a clock which, instead of striking the hour, played a tune by means of bells of different sizes. Doray's clock recorded the time of the rising and setting of the sun and moon.[18]

Abbé Casgrain tells us that the people of La Rivière-Ouelle had succeeded in developing some fruit trees of excellent quality, some of which were later on transported to France where they are still cultivated with success. Among them is an apple tree, the fruit of which is popular in the market of Paris, and known under the name of *reinette du Canada*.[19] No one then dreamed of Burbank. In England the writer was questioned about the *fameuse* of Canada which grows nowhere else with the beauty of colour

[9] Ferland quoted by Ernest Gagnon, *Le Fort et le Château Saint-Louis*, p. 38.
[10] Casgrain, Vol. I, p. 566. [11] *Ibid.*, p. 580.
[12] J. C. Taché, *Esquisse sur le Canada*, p. 72.
[13] Bibaud, *Dictionnaire historique*, p. 253.
[14] *Ibid.*, p. 128. [15] *Ibid.*, p. 178.
[16] *Johnson Encyclopedia*, Vol. I, p. 1418.
[17] Bibaud, p. 106. [18] *Ibid.*, p. 78. [19] Casgrain, Vol. I, p. 527.

and the exquisiteness of taste which it has when cultivated on the hills at a short distance from Montreal.

The system inaugurated at the Cession by England cut French Canadians off from their old European home, and compelled them to deal exclusively with the British colonies, giving all possible preference to the metropolis; yet they continued many of their enterprises. One sees them exhibiting their oils at the London Exhibition and various products at that of Paris. Their medicinal and tinctorial plants attracted as much attention there as in London. Their carriages were admired by Napoleon III. Robert Romain exhibited his steam-plough.[20] The survivors of the old nobility entered the British Army, became engineers and leaders. French Canadians under French rule had not practised commerce upon any important scale. Their farming class did not materially differ from farming classes in other parts of the world. The enterprises of the natives were checked by the Conquest while the British had full sway in every realm of action. They were an aggressive, commercial people. They had vital relations with the southern settlements as well as with England. Their opportunities were much greater than those of the sons of the soil and these they used to the limit.

One of the many consequences of the arrival of British traders was the awakening of the commercial spirit among the natives, leading them at least to see new possibilities for themselves. They whose fathers for a long time did not believe that cereals could be grown in Canada had scarcely thought of exporting them as the British did upon a large scale to Europe. In 1769 seventy vessels took over to England cargoes valued at $815,525, probably made up of furs, wood, and wheat. This last staple became so important that even in 1776, when they had to take care of a large army, they transported 2,000 tons to England.[21]

[20] Bibaud, p. 281.

[21] Stone and Hund, p. 37.

In 1795 one hundred and twenty-eight vessels exported 395,000 bushels of wheat, 18,000 barrels of flour, and 20,000 hundredweights of biscuits. In 1802 two hundred and eleven vessels carried down the St. Lawrence 1,010,000 bushels of wheat, 38,000 barrels of flour, and 32,000 hundredweights of biscuit.[22] This gave a great impulse to agriculture. When Lord North in the British Parliament in 1774 asked "if the increase of agriculture had been the principal cause of the increase of commerce," General Carleton answered, "It is so understood." [23] The farmers were French Canadians. The British were only putting them in touch with the world market.

The neo-feudal system of land tenure did not appeal to British settlers, and French Canadians were not, as may be well understood, very favourable to a modification of its condition, as it constituted a virtual protection against the immigration of men who wished to dispossess them of their real autonomy. This fact and the emigration of loyalists from the United States led to the opening of Upper Canada, where the climate was less severe and the soil much richer. The great problem for these settlers was that of transportation. The waterways were incomparable; though, from the very first these Britons were forced to overcome the rapids. The natives rendered great services in going through these perilous places, and paid a heavy death toll for their work.[24] Already in the early hours of British rule, Dollier de Casson, superior of the company of St. Sulpice, conceived the idea of utilising the little river St. Pierre and the small lake of the same name, situated almost parallel to the St. Lawrence, to avoid the Lachine Rapids. Anglo-Canadians constructed the Lachine, the Beauharnois, the Cornwall, the Williamsburgh, and the Welland canals.[25] The Rideau Canal, connecting Lake Ontario with the Ottawa

[22] Heriot, p. 281.
[23] Cavendish, p. 105.
[24] Mrs. Moodie, *Life in the Clearings*, p. 32.
[25] Boyd, p. 152.

River, was built for military reasons.[26] Under the direction of Sir John Kennedy they so improved the St. Lawrence, dredging it to such a depth that the largest steamers can go to the wharfs of Montreal. To these men of indomitable energy we owe the building of the *Royal William,* the first steamer from Canada to cross the Atlantic and it was a Nova Scotian of the name of Cunard who in 1839 established the famous Cunard Line.

Railroad ventures as compared with England, France, and the United States came late. It was about 1835 that the first short lines were built. In 1850 there were only fifty-five miles of railroads in the whole country.[27] The Grand Trunk built a line from Montreal to Toronto and then from Quebec to the *Rivière-du-Loup.* In 1860 this company held 1,092 miles of trunk lines.[28] In 1862 the Imperial Government gave guaranties for the building of the Intercolonial Railway to unite all the provinces existing at this time.[29] The aim of this was economic, national, but was considered a possible help in case of war with the United States. Then the important centres of population were connected by rail.

Great designs were pending. As early as 1842 Sir Edward W. Watkins wished to push the Grand Trunk Railway to the Pacific Coast.[30] Joseph Howe, the remarkable statesman of Nova Scotia, astonished his hearers when he said in 1851 that there were those within the sound of his voice who would hear the screech of the railway whistle in the passes of the Rocky Mountains.[31] A proposal, with a clear vision of the possibility of an interoceanic railway, was made to John A. Macdonald in 1858.[32] By and by, to win

[26] Basil Hall, *Travels in North America in the Years 1827 and 1828,* Vol. I, p. 231.
[27] Griffith, p. 58.
[28] Galt in Morgan, *Relations of the Industry of Canada,* p. 325.
[29] *Ibid.,* p. 368. [30] Willson, *The Life of Lord Strathcona,* Vol. I, p. 178.
[31] Longley, *Joseph Howe,* p. 259.
[32] Pope, *The Day of Sir John Macdonald,* p. 50.

British Columbia to the Federation, this daring statesman promised the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway. The work was ultimately done, and well done, and now the road is double-tracked most of the way from ocean to ocean. It surpassed all previous railroad achievements, overcame untold difficulties at the Rocky Mountains, covered 3,243 miles, was built with great thoroughness, provided with a luxury of travelling adjuncts of all kinds, and with thoughtful provisions for the future growth of the country. No history of railroad construction, for its efficiency and rapidity, is comparable with this. At times on the prairies it attained six miles a day.[33] The road was finished six years before the extreme time limits of the contracts.

Sir Adolphe Routhier speaks of this road as the main "artery of Canada, carrying to the extremities of this great body the blood that makes it live." [34] It is, according to him, not only a great organ of Dominion life, but of the whole British world. Had he written again on the same subject he would have had to mention several arterial connecting links between the East and the West, though the Canadian Pacific remains preponderant. One cannot overrate the merits of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway, the prodigious extension of the work of this company which was so long a patient and ill-requited pioneer in railways in the country. This road binds with its iron bands the most important parts of the northernmost lands of the Northwest and will, by an adequate system of navigation, materially shorten the route from England to the Orient. The Canadian Northern, like the Grand Trunk Pacific, now wholly absorbed by the Canadian Government Railways, with their 22,600 miles of roads, is the longest railway system in the world.

To cap the climax of their daring these conquistadors of the land by rail, through their government, are building a

[33] Sir A. B. Routhier, *De Québec à Victoria*, p. 12. [34] *Ibid.*, p. 175.

railway that will connect the country with Hudson Bay. This enterprise, praised by many Canadians writers, is rated as follows by the American novelist, James Oliver Curwood, one of the best American authorities upon the Canadian Northland: "It is the most wonderful of railroad building on the American continent. . . wonderful because it has been neglected so long. Something like a hundred million people have been asleep to its enormous value, and they are waking up now. That road, cutting across four hundred miles of wilderness, is opening up a country half as big as the United States, in which more mineral wealth will be dug during the next fifty years than will ever be taken from the Yukon or Alaska. It is shortening the route from Montreal, Duluth, Chicago, and the Middle West to Liverpool and other European ports by a thousand miles. It means the making of a navigation sea out of Hudson Bay, cities on its shores, and great steel foundries close to the Arctic Circle—where there is coal and iron enough to supply the world for hundreds of years." [35] No people, in proportion to its population, has a greater mileage of railroads, 12,000 miles of which were constructed in fourteen years. In 1914 they had more than 30,000 miles of railroads in operation.[36] The total now is about 40,000 miles. Canadians have linked all the provinces of the Dominion with a wonderful system of railroads, and the Dominion with the whole world by an extensive network of navigation.

Among the most conspicuous achievements in this realm are the monumental stations and palatial hotels with their internal and external splendour. They stand in all centres of the Dominion as evidences of the irrepressible spirit of the men who, having shown so much intelligence in opening the country, have understood the importance of making

[35] *The Flower of the North*, p. 12.
[36] Skelton, Vol. II, p. 415.

attractiveness and comfort incentives to travel. The Château Frontenac in Quebec, admirably situated upon one of the most picturesque and historic spots in North America, evokes, in a splendid and artistic manner, the spirit of the old French rule. The interior decoration is rich in mementoes of French Canadian history, recalling most felicitously the past. We cannot speak so admiringly of the Château Laurier of Ottawa, beautiful as it is. It has not the appropriateness of the Frontenac. Its upper part suggests an old castle, such as Ussé and Pierrefonds, which are built on high ground, surrounded by moats. The lower stories bring to one's mind the base of a pretentious hotel in New York City. It is not consistent with itself, nor is it coördinated with its environments, or with local history. A visit to most of these hotels, however, forces upon one the sense of the might of the men who called them into existence.

The unshackled and limitless energy of these men has spanned the rivers at important points with colossal structures nothing short of remarkable. The Victoria Bridge over the St. Lawrence near Montreal was in its early days viewed as a marvel of engineering. It is reported that Sir George Cartier, dining at Windsor, was asked by the great Queen how many feet long the structure was which had been named after her. The minister answered in the old French courtly style: "When we Canadians build bridges and name them after Your Majesty, we do not measure them in feet but in miles." It is 9,184 feet long. It may be that the transformation of that tubular to an open bridge, from a single track to a larger structure for electric cars, for carriages as well as for trains, without stopping the traffic, is as creditable for Canadian engineering skill as that displayed by the original work. With this should be mentioned the International Bridge across the Niagara River between Fort Erie and Buffalo, the St. Clair Tunnel under the river of that

name, and the marvellous Quebec Bridge recently placed in position, after two previous tragic attempts. Nothing seems too daring for them.

In 1913 the production of wheat in the Canadian West reached 136,000,000 bushels. To handle such large quantities of grain in Montreal under the direction of Sir John Kennedy they reared elevators, some of which unload half a million bushels in twenty-four hours. Most of them are as ugly as they are extraordinary and efficient, with an elevator storage capacity of eleven and one-half million bushels. Anglo-Canadians are proud to say that they have in the port of that city "the world's largest transfer elevator" and that "the new dry-dock is one of the largest in the world." [37] One must pardon these men their use of superlatives. Their warehouses are gigantic, the Commissioners' Warehouse and Cold Storage plant is enormous, and their wharfs colossal. There, having never doubted their constructive power, and ever delighting in the solution of great practical difficulties, they play with the Goliath and the Titan cranes, attempting to harness the brutal forces of nature to the service of man. They have placed large steamers on the Great Lakes and upon many of the rivers. They have organised steamship companies whose vessels pass in every direction from the eastern and western littoral. The Bassano Dam, at Calgary, Alberta, for irrigation, is cyclopean. They have made good use of their great waterfalls everywhere, though availing themselves as yet of only a small part of their almost limitless hydraulic energy. In some ways they have surpassed the Americans.

They have displayed the same spirit in their industrial pursuits. They came late to this. A little past the middle of the nineteenth century Mr. Isaac Buchanan, member of Parliament, speaks of Canada as having no manu-

[37] Willson, *Quebec,* p. 116.

factures.[38] It was only in 1831 that the wholesale trade was introduced in Toronto by this same gentleman, "his brother merchants of Montreal laughing at his presumption."[39] According to the Hon. A. T. Galt, in 1862 there was not a single cotton mill in Canada nor silk manufactory."[40] The real industrial advance began with the generation of British immigrants who landed in Canada just before or immediately after the Uprising. These men showed their usual energy, erected all forms of industrial institutions, developed large establishments giving to all forms of metallic industries great prominence. They live in a new iron age even when they turn to agriculture. With them everything is on a large scale and pushed forward with a most resolute economic spirit. "It is this spirit," says J. A. Hobson, "one feels everywhere throbbing in Canada; its main outlet is frankly 'materialistic,' making for the development of the natural resources in field, forest, fishing, mines, among a people of tough, sturdy individualists, with the powerful physique of a farm-bred folk and the personal independence of a race of men owning the land they till."[41] Their material development is without precedent.[42]

Practical and extraordinary in everything that pertains to commerce they covered their land with banks. Drawing capital from the whole of North America and from Europe they rendered money accessible. One of the most striking features of commerce in Vancouver, Winnipeg, Toronto, and other large centres of the West is the variety and number of banking institutions, insurance offices, and land companies so vitally related to all their great enterprises. Speculation has been the glory and the plague of Anglo-

[38] Address published in Morgan, *The Relations of the Industries of Canada*, p. 57.
[39] *Ibid.*, p. 431.
[40] *Ibid.*, p. 358.
[41] *Canada To-day*, p. 7.
[42] *Au Canada*, p. 184.

Canadians; but in any case they developed credit upon a gigantic scale. With an authorized banking capital of nearly $200,000,000, they make a colossal impression by the side of the $17,000,000 of French Canadian banks.[43] However the latter are making progress. Thirty years ago any one in the city of Quebec, having a check to cash, was compelled to go to an English bank, but now French banks are predominant. A feature of these institutions, like the Scotch banks, is their centralisation. Twenty-six of them have 2,888 branches; the Royal Bank has 338, the Bank of Commerce 367,[44] and the Bank of Montreal over 600

These Britons, in their business ventures, introduced amazing combinations such as the Eaton stores in Winnipeg and in Toronto, huge institutions larger than the Bon Marché of Paris, or the large department stores in Philadelphia and New York. Their tendency is ever towards a wider expansion. They have made a generous use of advertising which is one of their contributions to French Canadian commercial life. In the larger English houses in Montreal the majority of clerks are French. In fact, the French themselves have come to do a large business in Quebec. It is especially at this point that there is the greatest popular contact between the two peoples. The French, with their conservatism, imbibe English ideas, which mean modern ideas; and English life, which is contemporary world life.

England introduced, also, its political institutions, logically grasped by French Canadians, thus revolutionising all their conceptions and ideals imported from France. The lucidity of their thinking enabled them to comprehend, at an early date, the working principles of the British government and to ask for their application. John A. Macdonald said "that a Frenchman, whether in France or

[43] *Almanach du peuple,* 1918, p. 131. [44] Myers, p. ii.

in Canada, no matter what his intellectual calibre may be, finds great difficulty in really understanding the British Constitution, for the reason that his mind is too logical to allow him to accept the paradoxes which abound therein." [45] On the contrary, it is this logical faculty which led French Canadians to ask for the application of the constitutional principles which are now a part of Canadian life. Their political efficiency was recognised by Lord Dufferin, who, speaking of the French "race," said, "We must not forget that it is to its lofty spirit, to its love of liberty, to its exact appreciation of the civil rights contained in the constitution first granted by England to Canada, that we owe that parliamentary autonomy of which the country is so justly proud." [46] He had just referred to "the dignity, the moderation, and the political ability with which French public men of Canada helped their English colleagues to apply and cause to work and to function those great principles of law and constitutional practice which are at the basis of the free government of this country." [47] This British constitutionalism has largely entered into their life, and has bridged many of the political differences of bygone days. This new political life is the best gift of England to French Canadians and her most successful partial assimilation.

The British also helped the social transformation of the French. In both the countries from which Canadians came aristocracy of birth had precedence over nobility of worth. The attempts of the British to have the former aristocracy introduced into the constitution had to be given up, because then Canadians were too poor. French seigniors endeavoured to construe their privileges into titles of nobility and the Family Compact moved in the same direction, but in vain. The democratic movement became irresistible. It took place even in the French Canadian

[45] Pope, *Memoirs,* Vol. I, p. 250. [46] Stewart, p. 301. [47] *Ibid.,* p. 300.

hierarchy. The bishops up to the Conquest were drawn from aristocratic families, but now they came from the people. Mgr. Hubert was the son of a baker,[48] Mgr. Denaut, of a man of moderate circumstances,[49] Mgr. Plessis was born in the home of a blacksmith,[50] Mgr. Panet was the son of a notary,[51] Mgr. Signay, had a father who was captain of a schooner,[52] Mgr. Turgeon came from a family of merchants,[53] Mgr. Baillargeon, in his early years, was a shepherd,[54] and Mgr. Taschereau, the first cardinal of Canada, was the son of a judge.[55] One of the most distinguished prelates of to-day is the son of a mason. The same democratic ascent has taken place in the political world. Alexander Mackenzie began his work as a mason and a stone-cutter, but six years later he laid aside the mallet and the chisel to enter Parliament, and eleven years after he was Premier of Canada.[56] How proud is Mr. Hawkes when he says, "More than half of our Cabinet ministers began life as manual workers." [57] Britons have certainly helped French Canadians to brush to one side pedants inclined to assume a credit which belonged to their ancestors.

We have already referred to the great stream of young Britons some of whom came with capital, and many of whom became educators in the benighted parts of Upper Canada. Protestant like Catholic countries were then backward in this matter. It was not until 1846 that common schools among them "were reduced to a system." [58] Ontario has taken a foremost place in the forward movement, but all provinces in this respect are now in the path of progress. The older ones have established various

[48] Têtu, p. 383. [49] *Ibid.*, p. 431. [50] *Ibid.*, p. 457.
[51] *Ibid.*, p. 527. [52] *Ibid.*, p. 550. [53] *Ibid.*, p. 583.
[54] *Ibid.*, p. 618. [55] *Ibid.*, p. 646.
[56] Buckingham and Ross, *The Hon. Alexander Mackenzie, His Life and Times*, p. 13.
[57] *The Birthright*, p. 92. [58] Galt, in Morgan, p. 312.

colleges; and Nova Scotia, with less than half a million people, is supporting six such institutions. Canada with a population of 9,000,000 has twenty-three universities. Some of them have scarcely risen above the functions of examining boards, but McGill and Toronto are institutions of the highest standing. Canadian writers speak of them as "non-sectarian," [59] but this means the relative dropping of ecclesiastical questions, not a real religious liberalism.

These two universities are great modern institutions with a splendid corps of professors, a rich equipment of all kinds, great laboratories, large libraries, vast resources, and lofty ideals, which place them foremost among the universities of this continent. McGill draws, specially to its departments of sciences and law, students from almost every part of the British Empire. Toronto may have more leaning towards sister institutions in the United States, and McGill towards Oxford and Cambridge not to mention Edinburgh, but both are intensely British Canadian in living contact with the universities of the homeland. Sir William Peterson speaks of "the fact that the educational institutions of the colonies have been manned to a large extent from the great British Universities." [60] Again, defending McGill against the inconsiderate slurs of a British journalist, who asserted that there was very little in common between Oxford, Cambridge, and McGill, he said that the writer "would be surprised to know how many Oxford and Cambridge men are on the McGill staff, in arts and applied science." [61]

When the writer was a student in that institution there were from Great Britain the Rev. Dr. George Cornish, professor of Latin and Greek, Dr. Alexander Johnson, professor of mathematics, the Rev. Dr. John Clark Murray,

[59] Galt, in Morgan, p. 314; Bourinot, *The Intellectual Development of the Canadian People*, p. 46.
[60] *Canadian Essays and Addresses*, p. 197.
[61] *Ibid.*, p. 41.

professor of philosophy, Dr. Moyse of the English department, and Dr. Bovey in the Faculty of Applied Sciences. Sir William Peterson, coming from Scotland, renovated and enlarged the university, making it worthily known in the United States. He had sound ideas of what a large, modern university should be in order to keep that which was vital, cultural, scientific in the old classical education, and with it to lead men to the widest possible scientific knowledge of the universe and of life. More than any one else he contributed to secure for McGill the large gifts which, day by day, tend to make it a greater power of intelligence and action. The rapidly acquired wealth of Canadians, which so vitalised the superior education of the country, enabled them to develop their artistic culture, to send their future painters and sculptors to study in Paris; to have rich private galleries like those of Sir William Van Horne, of Mr. Angus, and of Lord Strathcona; artistic organisations, art societies, and art museums. These means of education, pre-eminently intended for Anglo-Canadians, have not been without influence upon French Canadian colleges and universities.

Anglo-Canadians, as a rule, are a religious people. In the early days their congregations represented various Protestant communions. The attempts to make the Anglican body a state church, a scheme favoured by the government, were eventual failures. During the last three-quarters of a century all denominations have been independent of the secular power. Essentially conservative in theology and religion, they have gradually enlarged their conceptions by a growing philosophical culture. Science, even in their secondary schools, has taken a large place, and their religion has kept an evangelical spirit of a prominent ethical character. Their missions and charities reflect great credit upon them. A strong earnestness shows itself in settling all great church issues. The power of the

Orangemen among them is decreasing, and a healthy religious life shows itself by a greater union. One of their great boons was a wide and constant importation of clergymen who led the churches to a larger culture. That was especially the case in great centres like Toronto and Montreal, where the new-comers raised the tone of the pulpit. No one that heard Alfred Bray and Dr. Stevenson from England or above all the eloquent and scholarly utterances of the Rev. Dr. Barclay, can forget the indebtedness of the latter city to these uncommon men. There was also a large importation of one of the most signal blessings that Britain has scattered upon the Anglo-Saxon world; that is, her rich theological literature. With this all came a deeper philosophical culture and a greater theological science, expressed in eloquent forms, permeated with the best religious idealism, reacting against the pronounced materialistic tendencies of Anglo-Canadian civilisation.

Anglo-Canadians appeared at their best when Britain entered the Great War. By a magnificent display of energy they transformed their forces of peace into forces of war. Their record in making ammunition was superior even to their previous industrial achievements. They showed a marvellous ability to adjust themselves to the demands of the hour. In about a year Canada created one hundred and fifty munition factories and prepared them to fill orders from Great Britain to the amount of $250,000,000. They showed a great elasticity of action in the economics of the war and the financiering of immediate needs. Perhaps the most remarkable trait of their activities at this time was the largeness of gifts, their patriotic works to relieve the families of soldiers, and to look after every phase of the demands of the time in Canada, in Great Britain, France, and Belgium. Nothing is more beautiful than the spontaneous service and devotion of their women,

and their sense of what should be done for the comfort and health of their soldiers. Seldom had an army, in campaign, a more extraordinary financial, moral, and religious backing. Everywhere, and especially in cities, everything was subordinate to the dignity and safety of the Empire.

The 600,000 Canadians who crossed the ocean—men who had so dominated forces of nature in British America—after a brief but remarkable training became conquerors of men. The fact that they were decimated speaks eloquently for their bravery. At least 60,000 martyrs of the great cause are resting in the land which they contributed so efficiently to save. Speaking of their resistance, an English general said, "The Canadians never budge." No war record anywhere is more glorious than that of these men who in a heroic manner seemed to say to the Germans on their march to Calais and the coast, "*on ne passe pas,*" thereby saving England. Everywhere—at Ypres, at Vimy Ridge, and in their numerous other battles with the invaders—their valour defies words. Led by their gallant general, Sir Arthur W. Currie, they delivered Cambrai. With this heroic achievement came former freedom, kindness instead of oppression, food for the hungry, and a most gentle and humane régime.

CHAPTER X

ANGLO-FRENCH INTERPENETRATION

IN spite of the irreducible antagonism of writers, sectarian prejudice, and the greedy tendencies of minorities, there are innumerable indices of an unconscious partial reconciliation of the two great groups of British subjects in Canada. The two peoples have been profoundly modified, and in similar directions, by a common climate, a common history, a common working of government, common ideas, and a common solidarity. The "deep cleft" mentioned by Bryce,[1] the "bridging the chasm" of P. F. Morley, as metaphors, expressing the relations of French and English Canadians, are exaggerations and should give place to the "bridging the gap"—of Prime Minister Tschereau. There has been a *rapprochement* not perceived by the masses on either side. Various affinities have brought unexpected associations, and various incidents have created lasting friendships. Dr. Badelart of Montcalm's troops, the man who attended the French general, wounded to death, had become isolated among the English on the Plains of Abraham. Seeing a wounded Highlander he took care of him and, at the same time, made himself his prisoner. John Fraser, who was the fortunate captor, settled in Quebec where he opened a school. For forty years the two men were most intimate friends.[2]

At the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning

[1] Viscount James Bryce, *Modern Democracies,* Vol. I, p. 488.
[2] Casgrain, Vol. II, p. 174.

of the nineteenth the French and the English united several times to celebrate the anniversaries of the successful defence of Quebec against the Americans. The Baron's Club was organized in that spirit.[3] The touching welcome to the Right Rev. Jacob Mountain, on his arrivel at Quebec, by the venerable Catholic Bishop, Jean Olivier Briand, who greeted him with "the kiss on each cheek," [4] as well as the discourse at his death by Mgr. Octave Plessis [5] show the same attitude. In 1825 both bishops died. The same honours were paid to each at the funerals, attended by Governor Dalhousie and his staff.[6] Both peoples were united in fighting republican France.[7] Both peoples were at one in collecting a fund to help England. "Mingled with the names of Sewell, Forsythe, Molson, Osgoode, Pownell, and Coffin," says Lady Edgar, "are those of Taschereau, de Boucherville, de Lotbinière, de Lévis, and de Salaberry." [8] Also there were common celebrations when the news of the French defeat at Aboukir and Trafalgar reached Canada. Abundant verse of French Canadians celebrated the heroism of Nelson and the greatness of British victories.

Beyond this patriotic communion there was the intimate contact of men. The author of *Les anciens Canadiens*, as well as Joseph François Perrault, attended the brilliant gatherings of the governors.[9] At the age of eighty-one the latter wrote his autobiography to please his friend, Lord Aylmer.[10] Archibald Campbell and Sir George Hamilton encouraged the French artist, Falardeau.[11] Mr. Campbell helped F. X. Garneau, the future historian.[12] The Hon. Hugh Finley, the deputy postmaster-general, Samuel Neilson, the editor of the *Gazette* of Quebec, and other conspicuous British citizens did much to sustain Labadie in

[3] Bender, p. 95.
[4] Christie, Vol. III, p. 80.
[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 357.
[6] *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 79.
[7] Bender, p. 100.
[8] *General Brock*, p. 46.
[9] Bender, p. 102.
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 11.
[11] Casgrain, Vol. II, p. 15.
[12] *Ibid.*, p. 89.

his school work. The small British *élite* were kind and considerate.

This many-sided social contact brought about still closer relations. Among the multitude of those whom we have not space to mention we find that Joseph Perrault married Ursule McCarthy,[13] John Malcom Fraser took a French Canadian for wife,[14] Anaïs de Gaspé became the spouse of William Fraser, Paul de Gaspé married Madeline Fraser,[15] Mlle. Claire d'Eschambault wedded the Hon. John Fraser,[16] Jacques Viger married the widow of Major Lennox.[17] Of the daughters of Jacques Baby one married James Caldwell, another Mr. Allison, and another still became the wife of him who later on was Lord Bellingham.[18] Pierre de Sales La Terrière married the daughter of Sir Fenwick Bulmer.[19] The alliances of the Babys with British families were many. Amélie became Mrs. John Johnston and then Mrs. John Porteous, Anne-Amelia married Samuel Wentworth Monk, Maria Elizabeth, William Stevenson, Louisa Bowen, James Guthrie Scott, Julia, William Willan, Bertha Louise, William Edward Holmes, and Blanche, Herman Ryland.[20] Hermine de Salaberry became Mrs. Dr. Glen.[21] Major McDowell married a daughter of Chevalier Belestre.[22] The daughters of the Hon. P. D. Debartzch became the life companions of Messrs. Drummond, Monk, Kierkowski, and the Count of Rottermund.[23] The Hon. Thomas Dunn gave his name to Mlle. Henriette Guichaud,[24] and Sir Louis La Fontaine gave his to Mrs. Kinton, the widow of an English officer. Sir William Grant married the Baroness of Longueil,[25]

[13] Bender, p. 87.
[14] Josephine Holmes, p. 357.
[15] Daniel, p. 370.
[16] *Ibid.*, p. 390.
[17] *Bulletin des recherches historiques,* July, 1918, p. 209.
[18] Daniel, p. 526.
[19] Casgrain, Vol. II, p. 225.
[20] *Bulletin des recherches historiques,* Oct., 1917, p. 313.
[21] David, *Biographies et portraits,* p. 59.
[22] Bibaud, p. 34.
[23] *Ibid.*, p. 96.
[24] *Ibid.*, p. 111.
[25] Daniel, p. 189.

and Alexander Grant, who for a time was the administrator of the government of Upper Canada, took to the altar Marie Charles Joseph de Longueuil, who had succeeded to the title of baronne.[26] His son entered the family of Admiral Coffin.[27] M. de Montenach married the daughter of Alexander Grant, while another became the wife of Colonel White of the Hussars.[28] One of the De Lotbinières became Mrs. Unwin Harwood.[29] M. de Gaspé married Miss Allison.[30] Judge Power and Judge Stuart were his sons-in-law.[31] George d'Eschambault married Miss McKenzie,[32] the Chevalier Duchesnay, Miss Jones of Gosport, England,[33] Dr. Wolfred Nelson, Mlle. Charlotte de Fleurimont.[34] Mlle. Thérèse d'Eschambault wed Captain Dunbar,[35] Mlle. Chauveau the young officer Glendowyn,[36] Mlle. Henriette Duchesnay became the wife of Colonel J. E. Campbell, and Marie-Charlotte Guillimin married James McGill, the founder of McGill University.[37] The annalist of the Ursulines complains that French Canadian young ladies are daily marrying Englishmen and according to English laws.[38]

In studying the literary history of French Canadians one meets numerous cases of other Anglo-French or French-English alliances. M. Louis Fizet, lawyer and poet, has an English mother.[39] The mother of Félix Gabrielle Marchand was Scotch,[40] that of Alfred Morissettes was Irish,[41] and those of Nelligan, Chapman, Edouard Fabre Surveyer, were French. John Lesperance had a French father and an American mother.[42] A very interesting example of

[26] Bibaud, p. 199. [27] Daniel, p. 190. [28] Bibaud, p. 223.
[29] *Ibid.*, p. 200. [30] Casgrain, Vol. II, p. 244. [31] Daniel, p. 370.
[32] *Ibid.*, p. 392. [33] *Ibid.*, p. 344. [34] David, *Biographies*, p. 290.
[35] Daniel, p. 390. [36] *Ibid.*, p. 198.
[37] Hon. L. A. Taschereau, *Address at the Centennial of McGill University*, 1921.
[38] *Les Ursulines de Québec*, Vol. III, p. 52.
[39] Jules Fournier, *Anthologie des poètes canadiens*, p. 55.
[40] *Ibid.*, p. 68. [41] *Ibid.*, p. 93.
[42] *Royal Society*, I, Vol. III, p. xiii.

absorption of one people by the other is the association of Oscar Dunn and John Lesperance in the editorship of the *Opinion Publique Illustrée* and the *Canadian Illustrated News,* published, one in French and the other in English, with the same plates, by the same firm. Dunn, of Scottish descent, had written an article in French: "Why we have remained French." Then he wittily suggested to his colleague that now it was his turn to write a paper upon the subject: "Why we have remained English." [43] In 1866 the notary, Delage, married Miss Fraser.[44] Lady Chapleau was English and Madame Fréchette was American. A thorough study of this question would establish that alliances between the two nationalities have been far more extensive than is commonly thought.

With the dawn of the nineteenth century began to appear the transformation of names which so astonishes those unacquainted with the sociological history of Canada. "They are numerous," says the Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux, "in our villages—the Rosses, the Campbells, the Frasers, the McNichols, the Stuarts, who neither speak Gaelic nor English and whose attachment to the French tongue is truly filial." [45] It has been erroneously thought that the Sylvains of French Canada were descendants of Irishmen of the name of Sullivan because Dr. Timothy Sullivan had so changed his name.[46] Buies met a man in the Saguenay whose name, Murray, had become Muret.[47] Professor Skelton tells us that John Burke, in spite of his name, is a French Canadian [48] and also "J. J. Ross, whose Scotch name and French tongue bore witness to the assimilating effect of French mothers." [49] In reading *The McGill News* one is impressed by the numerous French Canadian names

[43] *Royal Society,* I, Vol. III, p. xiv.
[44] *Les Ursulines de Québec,* Vol. IV, p. 644.
[45] *Royal Society,* III, Vol. IX, p. 483.
[46] P. G. Roy, *Bulletin des recherches historiques,* p. 303.
[47] *Le Saguenay et le Bassin du lac St. Jean,* p. 173.
[48] Vol. I, p. 444. [49] *Ibid.,* p. 480.

of those connected with the life of the university. The names of Dunn, Chapman, and Baker have attained a worthy place in French Canadian literature. Many names are such now that it is difficult to say whether the bearers are English or French, Protestant or Catholic: Wilson, Brown, Nelson, Baker, Harwood, Fraser, Lindsay, Harvey, Scott, Otis, Barry, Martin, Daniel, Brien, Campbell, David, Miller, and Thomas.[50] Sir John le Moine mentions among the Frenchified names of Murray Bay those of Warren, Blackburn, and McNeill.[51] Some of these men even now do not speak English. Goldwin Smith states that French Canadians "have absorbed and gallicised the fragments of British population which chance had thrown among them; and the children of Highland regiments, disbanded in Quebec, have become thorough Frenchmen and prefix Jean-Baptiste to their Highland names." [52]

It is a fact of great significance that English is now considered by the higher classes an essential part of a good French education, and among the industrial masses a necessity. It is taught in all the best schools. Laurier said that "the French Canadian father who to-day does not have his son learn English does not do justice to his child, for he forces him to remain behind in the struggle for existence." [53] The cultivated classes speak that language well, and at times with a literary fineness springing from a wide acquaintance with English literature. Laurier and Chapleau were the finest speakers in Parliament.[54] John Lesperance became a member of the English section of the Royal Society and Paul Lafleur professor of English literature in McGill University. There is no more telling example of interpenetration than the bilingual culture of the *élite* of French Canadians. The æsthetic forms of their language

[50] W. H. Moore, *The Clash*, p. 273.
[51] P. 189. [52] P. 11. [53] *Discours*, p. 310.
[54] Goldwin Smith, *The Political Destiny of Canada*, p. 21.

have not been without influence upon their English which in cultivated circles is very choice.

The bilingual movement gives rise to considerable linguistic activity between the two peoples. Apart from the many who are constantly compelled to gallicise parts of the language of the Canadian majority, not far from two hundred men, by profession, translate English. British thought comes to them through this channel and it is no longer true that in the province "extremely few speak English." [55] A book which should be in the hands of every one interested in this aspect of the French Canadian question, *Dictionnaire de nos fautes contre la langue française,* by Raoul Rinfret, is a splendid revelation of the depth of the popular influence of English upon French. The stirring book of M. Louvigny de Montigny, *La Langue française au Canada,* is a fearless, brilliant study of the French linguistic situation with perhaps pessimistic leanings but most instructive. The bibliographies on the subject, published in these two books, show at the same time the great action of modern France upon Canada, the living interest of French Canadians of talent in the culture of their language, and their attempts to bring their speech to a purer and more contemporary form. The *Congrès du parler-français,* with which is associated the name of Judge Adjutor Rivard, is of the utmost significance. There are English writers who ask now why Anglo-Canadians should not have their congress of the English language. However, the point upon which we lay stress is the large number of anglicisms in the French—indices of constant relations, of exchanges of views, of ideas and ideals which work for a better mutual understanding.

The pleasant relations that we have described between the *élite* of the two peoples was noted by Lord Durham. "The members of the oldest and most powerful official fam-

[55] Bryce, Vol. I, p. 457.

ilies," he says, "were of all the English in the country those in whom I generally found most sympathy with and kindly feeling towards the French population." [56] This better class could not fail to see the intellectual superiority of these over the poor social selection which constituted the mass of the English population of Quebec and Montreal so graphically depicted by that able, fair-minded Briton, E. A. Talbot.[57] The aristocracy of both populations are even now on a most intimate footing, and it is rare not to find in cities at least a man who has not a friendly acquaintance, or some attachment to some one of the other people. Many distinguished French Canadians have intimate comrades among the English branch of the nation. Hinks and Morin,[58] Cartier and Galt [59] were warm friends. Cartier and Macdonald were even more so.[60] Sir William Dawson speaks of "My friend, Dr. Chauveau." [61] Sir Wilfrid Laurier had a large circle of Anglo-Canadians bound to him by ties of amity, and among these were some of his political opponents. This distinguished Roman Catholic had genuine affection for a Baptist minister.[62]

This confraternity and friendship is not new, as we have shown. After the Union of the Canadas Robert Baldwin had been elected in two counties of Upper Canada, and La Fontaine had failed in his election among his own people. The Upper Canadian leader offered him the county of York, where he was elected by the Liberals. Later on Baldwin was defeated in two counties in which he had been a candidate. French Canadians, grateful to him for his thoughtful and kindly deed, desired to show their gratitude. La Fontaine proposed several counties to him. He accepted that of Rimouski where he was elected by acclamation.[63]

[56] *Report*, p. 15.
[57] Vol. II, p. 283.
[58] Boyd, p. 104.
[59] *Ibid.*, p. 116.
[60] Pope, *Memoirs of Sir John Macdonald*, Vol. I, p. 157.
[61] *Fifty Years of Work in Canada*, p. 179.
[62] McArthur, p. 151.
[63] David, *L'Union des deux Canadas*, pp. 35-40.

Thus the French Liberal represented an English county in Upper Canada where there was hardly a French voter, and the Anglo-Canadian a French community in which there was no British support whatever. Here two counties were united upon principles of fairness, fellowship, and friendship.

On his deathbed, Governor Bagot called La Fontaine to him. There was a solemn and touching meeting of those two men of different origin, language, and relation, but both loyal to French Canadians and true to England.[64] The dying governor told his minister that he was happy in the thought that he had the confidence of French Canadians and their esteem. Later on even the bitterest opponents of the Liberal leaders admitted the lofty purpose and the singular beauty of the work, not only of the governor but of Baldwin, a Protestant, and of La Fontaine, a Catholic. Both represented the union of what was best and most disinterested among the men of the two nationalities. Both were opposed to arbitrary government, to that unspeakable institution, the "Family Compact," in Ontario, and to the gang of British carpet-baggers in the province of Quebec. Both did all in their power to give their people a really Liberal government—we do not use the term "liberal" in a party sense—for which progressive Canadians had long toiled and suffered.

When more than 100,000 Irishmen were brought over from Ireland, and a terrible epidemic of cholera made great havoc, politicians justly criticised England that she had not stopped emigration as soon as the scourge appeared; but the French and the English, Catholics and Protestants alike, accomplished prodigies of heroism to succour these unfortunates.[65] The secretary of Mgr. Signay found homes for 453 orphans,[66] while others did a similar work. Natives

[64] De Celles, *La Fontaine*, p. 69.
[65] David, *L'Union*, p. 78; Walrond, p. 44. [66] Têtu, p. 557.

were unusually kind to them and helped, all along, the Irish in their religious life. In dealing with this unspeakable calamity both peoples vied with each other in their spirit of humaneness and sacrifice. Nothing eliminates prejudices like a generous service in common. Those who thus worked experienced such a feeling.

The consciousness of the respective heroism of those who struggled to defend, and those who fought to conquer, the land, led Canadians to honour the heroes of the victors and of the vanquished. Under the inspiration of Lord Dalhousie, and with the support of French Canadians, there was erected in Quebec the Wolfe-Montcalm monument with its beautiful inscription:

Mortem virtus communem;
Famam historiæ;
Monumentum posteritas dedit.

In 1833 Lord Aylmer had placed in the chapel of the Ursulines an inscription honouring Montcalm.[67] "It is by deeds like this," says Laurier, "that England has won the heart of my fellow-citizens and has acquired rights to our loyalty."[68] In 1854 both peoples united again in raising another monument to the valiant soldiers of both nations buried in a common grave on the Plains of Abraham.[69] Chauveau pointed out the significance of the monument: "Will it not tell to Englishmen as well as to Frenchmen, to immigrants as well as to the sons of the soil, that the fidelity of our fathers to their ancient flag we have shown for the new; that if they were men of Carillon [Ticonderoga] and of the Plains of Abraham, we have among us the men of Lacolle and of Châteaugay; that, in fine, history has not said its last word about our race."[70] The *Société St. Jean Baptiste* of Quebec, the most national-

[67] Casgrain, Vol. II, p. 189. [68] *Discours*, p. 21.
[69] David, *L'Union*, p. 154. [70] *La Littérature canadienne*, p. 383.

istic organisation of French Canada, also reared a monument to the French hero, Lévis, and to the equally valiant hero, Murray.

It would be a grave error to think that French Canadians cannot do signal justice to the sterling qualities of Anglo-Canadians. In a large bibliography which we have studied there are few writers who, while airing peculiar grievances, do not speak of the excellent qualities of the English. Read the pages of Chauveau, discussing Canadian literature, in 1876,[71] and it will be seen with what largeness of views and fairness of judgment he points out the qualities and progress of both literatures. They also do justice to individual Britons. Laurier's touching interpretation of the death of an Anglo-Canadian in Quebec decidedly shows that: "A few weeks ago a fire destroyed St. Sauveur. A man endeavoured to arrest the conflagration; without hesitation, and with the courage of a true soldier, he went into the thickest of the danger and there met death. On the next day all the French population of Quebec were in the streets, with sorrow in their heart, and with the most pious reverence saluted, as it was carried by, the mutilated body of Major Short." [72]

French Canadian consciousness of what the British have done for them is also an index of *rapprochement*. In 1830 La Terrière earnestly speaks of the benefits springing from English rule.[73] This praise was the key note of the pastoral letters of the province for nearly half a century, and was constantly given by *Le Canadien,* represented by the British clique as seditious,[74] and by Sir George Cartier when he said "that Montreal owed more to Upper Canada" than to Lower Canada. "I admit frankly that the prosperity of the two Canadas is principally due to the spirit of the

[71] *L'Instruction publique au Canada,* p. 311.
[72] *Discours,* p. 428.
[73] *A Political and Historical Account of Lower Canada,* pp. 115, 116, and 119.
[74] Dionne, *Pierre Bédard et ses fils,* p. 31.

English race."[75] We could mention a large number of passages like this of Dr. de Celles[76] who says, "Do we not proclaim constantly that we owe to Great Britain the most extensive political liberty? That blessing, independent nations clamour for. During a whole century military burdens, so heavy for many lands, were unknown to us." On this account, during that time, French Canada has not been subjected to war, the elimination of the fittest, to "a reversed selection" and to "the survival of the unfit."

In normal times one finds a most friendly spirit at the meetings of the best representatives of the two peoples. At a banquet given at Calgary to French Canadian bishops —bishops at whose disposal the Canadian Pacific Railway had placed a fine palace car for a trip to the Pacific coast— the prelates were given a very warm reception. Sir A. B. Routhier speaks of the good feeling of all there; that "Englishmen and Frenchmen, Protestants and Catholics, all seemed united with the same patriotism and the same aspirations."[77] For a visit to the strictly cloistered Ursulines monastery, on February 9, 1919, Sir Charles Fitzpatrick had invited the Anglican Bishop of Quebec and Mrs. Lenox Williams who were the object of the most gracious attentions from all.

The foundation of the Royal Society of Canada by the Marquis of Lorne was a step in the same direction. The coming together of the best representatives of the science, the art, and the culture of both peoples has already had a good influence. It has brought out, in a conspicuous manner, the excellencies and achievements of both: the British, foremost in the realm of science and philosophy, and the French, in general learning, literature, and art. "In 1881," says Dr. J. Edmond Roy, "the writers and the scholars of the English tongue were almost completely

[75] David, *L'Union des deux Canadas*, p. 232.
[76] *Laurier et son temps*, p. 74. [77] *De Québec à Victoria*, p. 168.

ignorant of the literary productions of their fellow-citizens of French origin, and the latter could not read the works published in Ontario or in the Maritime Provinces. . . . Harmony and goodwill have reigned in our society from the very beginning, and, since then, have never ceased to be manifest. In the name of literature, of history, and of science, men started from Nanaimo, in British Columbia, and came each year to fraternise with other men who live upon the Atlantic shores. In our midst are met Catholic archbishops, prelates of the Roman court, Protestant pastors, Presbyterians, Methodists, professors of universities, and high functionaries of state. These men of different races, separated from each other by their opinions, by their beliefs, discuss together the things of the mind, exchange ideas, write side by side, and publish between the covers of the same volume the results of their researches. Their union is not only one of reason but a loyal marriage in which both sides esteem and seek each other."

He continues, "One sees to-day professors of the universities of Toronto and McGill write in the reviews of Quebec, and professors of our French universities contribute to reviews in the English tongue, descendants of American Loyalists or Scottish mountaineers, and the descendants of the French . . . sit at the same table to discuss hard problems of science. Literary men or scientists of all the provinces of this immense country consult each other, help one another, submit their work to one another, and pursue with a common impulse researches of all kinds." [78-79] In several Canadian historical series *Canada and Its Provinces,* the *Makers of Canada,* the *Chronicles of Canada,* etc., French Canadian historians, mostly members of the Royal Society, have made important contributions. Such a co-operation promotes an atmosphere of contact.

There has been among cultivated Canadians a common

[78-79] *Royal Society,* III, Vol. III, p. x.

interest in many studies and especially in history. Dr. S. E. Dawson stated that there is "an increased devotion of English Canadians to the study, in the original authorities, of the French régime. The organisation of the Champlain Society is only one instance in Ontario. . . . It is now recognised that in the battles of the Plains of Abraham both sides won. The English troops overran the country, but the French continued to possess it. The French lost nothing but gained free institutions; and by dint of long companionship the English have come to regard the history of old Canada as theirs also. While the French Revolution severed the French Canadians from France, the American Revolution severed the English Canadians from the English-speaking peoples of the South. The two elements of our people are nearer and more to each other than either of the nations from which they sprang, and in the study of the history of their own country, the two races find a bond of common interest drawing them closer, year by year, as they know each other better." [80] The new historians are a great force for truth and justice.

Both peoples have also a mutual interest in their literary attainments. When, in 1880, the works of the poet Fréchette were crowned by the French Academy, prominent Montrealers gave him a banquet at the Windsor Hotel, and there Anglo-Canadians were conspicuous among those who rejoiced at the distinction conferred upon French Canadian literature. The Hon. Judge Mackay presided. Chauveau made a choice address, preceding that of the crowned poet. Among other remarks he expressed the hope that England would do for Anglo-Canadians what France has just done for one of her descendants beyond the seas. A few days later the St. Andrew's Society paid the same homage to the poet, and then McGill University conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Laws. This was followed by a ban-

[80] *Royal Society*, III, Vol. II, p. lxvi.

quet in Quebec. Anglo-Canadians were proportionally as numerous as in Montreal. Interpreting the significance of these gatherings Laurier said, "Not only those who speak the language of M. Fréchette associate themselves with his triumph, but all our compatriots of British origin join with us in this honour and claim a part of it." [81]

There is a certain meaning in the numerous names of English girls at the Ursulines of Quebec and at the Notre Dame Ladies' College of Montreal. Equally important is the large number of French Canadians who everywhere study English. The Rhodes scholars have been able to live in the very quick of the best British university life, in England, and have a genuine European culture. These men on their return can render services far greater than those of a monolingual student. M. Barbeau is anthropologist in government service in Ottawa. M. Baudry is secretary of Prime Minister King. M. Gérin-Lajoie is professor of law, like M. Léon Mercier Gouin, in the Montreal University. M. Lanctot is assistant director of war trophies in Ottawa, and MM. Dupré, Rochette, Allyn and Gagnon are prominent lawyers. All these men returned home delighted with Oxford and their contact with the most refined and distinguished Britons. Some French Canadians are greatly interested in English literature. Anglo-Canadians have been drawn by the quaint elements of the Quebec civilisation. In their colleges and universities one frequently hears fine selections of French Canadian songs. There is for them in these songs a simplicity and poetry which move their sensibility. Mr. A. J. Bradley speaks of English and Americans in the Saguenay among whom on delightful evenings "there is sure to be some one with a repertoire of French Canadian songs." [82] Many members of the two peoples meet each other in their amusements. Golf and other pastimes have not been without influence.

[81] *Discours*, p. 432. [82] *Canada in the Twentieth Century*, p. 71.

One must remember also the friendly relations among artists. The majority of those of Ontario have studied in Paris, and some, after attaining independence and success, have gone to live in France altogether. There may be professional rivalry between a few individuals, but as a whole there has been among them a greater Anglo-French cordiality than among the men of other vocations. These artists find in French Canada an atmosphere more friendly to art, hearts less swayed by economics, and capable of passionate fondness for the beautiful. The peasants of Millet, according to E. F. B. Johnston,[83] do not exist in Upper Canada, and hence are out of the reach on Ontario art, but the habitants, in a different way, come as close to Millet's subjects as the peasants of Normandy do. The genuine Anglo-Canadian artist, wishing to escape from the "hard and more or less realistic" [84] tendencies of his people, finds in Quebec a life full of artistic inspiration; hence his sympathy. Anglo-Canadians helped Henri Julien to be the splendid artistic force that he was.

A very striking change is that the religious leaders on both sides have come to take common ground concerning many questions. Upon the matter of alcohol many French Canadians have become as radical as the Anglo-Canadian teetotalers of years ago. In genuine temperance, French Canadians are superior to their British compatriots. In their theology clergymen have asserted a similar dogmatism and unevolutionary theology. In the general life both peoples meet each other in many ways. While some things separate them, much tends to unite them. Mr. Arthur Hawkes tells us of his contact with the sons of the soil, and that among them he had discovered "how much alike the English and the French are . . . that there are more things to agree about than to fight over." [85] The

[83] *Canada and Its Provinces*, Vol. XII, p. 594.
[84] *Ibid.*, p. 595.
[85] *The Birthright*, p. 301.

words of Mr. Hawkes apply less to the population of the rural districts than to that of the towns and cities, but the assertion is just. In their contact, more or less occasional, more or less frequent, the French have had their ideas modified and the British have infused into them something of their solid qualities. Referring to the opinion of Laurier upon this matter Senator David said, "There are not a few now who, like him, believe that the daily contact of French Canadians with so positive, so practical, a race is for them a source of strength and progress in moral and national relations as well as from a material point of view." [86] In any case, the presence and example of the English have given them a social cohesion which otherwise would have been impossible.

They have quickly co-ordinated themselves to some extent with English ways and ideals while remaining French and Catholics, but this has been French assimilation, not British absorption. The fundamental principle of this new life has been evolution and not revolution. The many changes that we have described as influencing the life and character of the two peoples have not destroyed the national dualism, but softened it; they have been a mordant for its angles, have humanised it and created innumerable points of lasting contact, of unconscious interpenetration and sympathy. Adaptive flexibility is growing. In spite of obstacles to national comity there is evidently the beginning of an organic union of the two peoples, each remaining loyal, not only to their language, their laws, and religion, but also to the Dominion; nay, in so far as it is in keeping with their ideals, to the Empire. The majority of Canadians do not realise the profound significance of this deep transformation.

There are many who look upon French Canada as if the relations between the two peoples were abnormal, while

[86] *Laurier et son temps*, p. 143.

in truth they are but the repetition of the experiences of many a nation when men of different origins have been compelled by the fortunes of war or by dynastic considerations, to live under the same flag. Where are the people to-day, of a different ethnography, forced to be under the same flag, attached to each other? Is that the attitude of the English and of the natives of Wales? In the ordinary social life of Scotland the English and the Scotch are courteous, considerate, polite, but can any one see very affectionate relations between them? Are the French and the German cantons of Switzerland so united as to obliterate all ethnic feelings? Are the French and the English of Canada, in their respective relations, as far apart as were the Tories and the Liberals of England under Gladstone? Is there anything in Quebec as intense and bitter as the contentions in England between Dissenters and Churchmen at the time of the passive resistance protest?

The writer does not recall anything, even during the most intense moments of conscription in Montreal or Ottawa, like the antagonism of the Radicals and Catholics of France at the time of the dispersion of the Orders, or at the separation of Church and State. Is the Canadian social and political cleavage greater than that between the French and the Basques, between the French and the Bretons, or between the French and the Flemish in the North? Underneath statements of grievances and noisy utterances of militants, such as are to be found in all countries, there is an attachment which, while far from sentimental and verbose, is more real than it seems. Both nationalities are unconsciously gravitating towards each other. As to the French Canadians, the words of Laurier voice their stand: "We venerate the great nation that has given us life. We are loyal to the British Crown that has given us freedom." Environments, institutions, and much of the life in common will deepen this interpenetration and

develop subtle unconscious, elective affinities. Switzerland has three ethnological sections and three languages; all her citizens are united in a common and invincible patriotism. Why should not Canada find, in its national duality, a source of social elevation, distinction and power?

CHAPTER XI

RURAL LIFE AND CUSTOMS

PROFESSOR LEGOUIS, of the Sorbonne, says that "daylight entered into English literature with the song of Taillefer, at Hastings." [1] The statement of Froissart that "the English take their pleasure sadly" contains much truth. When Britons, after the battle of the Plains of Abraham, subjected to their domination French Canadians, a certain spirit of solemnity and cheerlessness made its advent into New France, and worked its way to the Pacific Ocean. With his numerous appeals to our admiration the English Canadian is of a less happy temperament than the French. The latter are known as being of a joyous nature and possessing rare social instincts. Community life means much to them. In Ontario one notices that the farms are large, and that farm-houses are located at the centre, away from neighbours. This arrangement is doubtless more convenient for agricultural purposes, but less well adapted to sociableness. English writers have made all manner of fun of the long ribbons of land in Quebec,[2] but they have failed to see that such a system was demanded when French colonists were hourly exposed to the attacks of the Red man, and also by the social spirit of the natives. Anglo-Canadians are getting detached from the land, but the habitant, with his social environments, still finds great happiness in cultivating it, for he has an instinctive delight in society.

In this attempt to describe the moral and social condi-

[1] *Défense de la poésie française*, p. 55. [2] Goldwin Smith, p. 6.

tions of French Canadians we find ourselves face to face with an earlier civilisation, formerly fixed and stereotyped, now slowly evolving, and which is partly, or completely, transformed in the larger centres. Life in the smaller municipal units gives us the best examples of their former ways. With few libraries, less rare now than in former days; with few readers, though more and more numerous; without theatres and without music; without a social church,—theirs is a temple for worship and the distribution of divine grace—they make their social gatherings in each other's homes most entertaining. It must be here stated that the sense of an immediate friendly community exists nowhere more than here. The old adage, *"Qu'est-ce qu'on a de plus cher après ses parents, si ce n'est son voisin,"* [3] is significant. No class prejudice ever disturbs, especially in remote communities, an almost fraternal predisposition which shows itself in their gatherings.

One of the most striking displays of their gay spirit is their frequent singing, not only at home but also out of doors. One hears from them the old historic songs of France which Dr. W. H. Moore calls the best collection of folk-songs in the world.[4] These popular lyrics are thoroughly French, more widely representative of the whole of France than the people themselves who came mostly from the northwestern part of the country. They have done much to keep up a sentimental attachment for the ancestral abode and their former life. They have been the heartfelt literature of the *Canadien,* even when he could not read. These songs, so merry, so cheerful, are free from objectionable features. Some of the natives sing them before daylight, in winter, on their way to market, while walking behind their loads to keep warm. The women

[3] Prieur, p. 237.

[4] There have been many editions of them, but the best is the *Chansons populaires,* edited by Ernest Gagnon. See also MacLennan, *Songs of Old Canada.*

show their cheerfulness in the same way while performing their duties at home. Formerly, while at their looms, they would keep the movement of their shuttle accompanied with the rhythm of their melodies. In the fields both sexes would alternate from one farm to another the verses of *A la claire fontaine*. Often came common sentimental songs in a slow, plaintive mood. M. Ernest Gagnon said to Mme. Bentzon that these songs "have something of the Gregorian tonality." [5] That is certainly the case with the old *complaintes, Le Juif-errant* and *St. Géneviève de Brabant*. In their reunions the song was started by a leader and often the verses were repeated by those present. All joined in the refrain.

In their assemblages reigns a polite and almost urbane manner, unknown among other peoples of a similar class in any other country. Their conversation, free and easy, touches all kinds of questions within the range of their interest and knowledge with felicitous repartees, at times witty, with abundant compliments, not infrequently interspersed with a bit of raillery, an art in which they excel. Speaking with one of them of a gentleman whom we qualified as Ultramontane, he answered quickly, *"Non, ultramonté."* Those of their number who had been knighted were dubbed with the name of *cirés*. Highlanders were called *petites jupes,* and the barefooted, barelegged Irish, arriving in Canada, went by the name of *bas de soie*. When Lord Sydenham compelled them to have side shafts for their sleighs, they called them *travails de travers,* a fine bit of sarcasm. In all grades of French Canadian life one finds a great capacity for *beaux mots* and witticisms, the quality of which varies with the relative education of the speaker. At times their conversation is studded with archaic gems, like *petit train va loin,* the beauty of which is almost untranslatable. They have no talent for silence.

[5] *La Nouvelle France et la Nouvelle Angleterre,* p. 164.

Gossip exacts its toll as among all loquacious peoples. Many of the habitants have not lost a striking legacy from the old homeland of which Taine said, *"On dormirait en France si on ne médisait pas."* There is also among them a tendency to too frequent legal contentions. For some it is like a sport.

Story-telling has among them the place which theological discussions had among New Englanders. Their stories and legends resemble the folk-lore of almost all countries.[6] Popular credulity delighted in them, but according to M. Barbeau, the eminent French Canadian folk-lorist, "no one believes to-day the wonders which captivated the imagination of former generations. The child, even, no longer listens to the stories and legends which his grandmother could relate to him. He can read."[7] Notwithstanding the assertion of this investigator, we must affirm that these legends and their recital have survived in direct proportion to the distance of rural places from important centres. In that interesting, penetrating novel of French Canadian colonial life, *Maria Chapdelaine,* by Louis Hémon which was published first in *Le Temps* of Paris, and which has had a signal success in France, England, and America, we find the following lines: "After the hunting tales come ghost stories, and apparitions of spirits, accounts of terrifying visions or miraculous warnings received by men who had blasphemed, or spoken ill of priests."[8] This is quite common to-day at Lake St. Jean.

Some one has said that French Canadians "are saltatory." Their popular amusement is dancing to the music of their fiddlers who rarely can read a single note of a musical score, though among them there are good and real musicians. A peculiarity of these dances is the synchronic, cadenced keeping in step of all present. La Terrière, senior, speaks

[6] C. Marius Barbeau, *Royal Society,* III, Vol. IX, p. 453.
[7] *Ibid.,* p. 450. [8] Louis Hémon, *Maria Chapdelaine,* p. 169.

of their great love for this recreation; that their favourite dances were quadrilles and minuets mixed with English dances.[9] After the Cession there were introduced Scotch reels, called by the people Cos-reels.[10] The dancing of jigs was general. Even these old pastimes tend to disappear, being replaced by novelties from other countries. Dancing, like many other things, seems to become international. These recreations are far from encouraged by the clergy. Round dances are prohibited.[11] Puritanism of a certain type has ever existed in the province. Several writers mention the splendid music and dancing at Spencer-Wood, the governor's residence, stopped at once when the aide-de-camp noticed the approach of their "lordships, Bishops Plessis and Mountain." [12]

Their home life is particularly happy owing to the fact that domestic affections are very strong, so much so that several branches of the same family often live under the same roof in contentment. With this survives, and is even intensified, the persistence of family character. Nowhere else can it be said to such an extent that "every man is a bundle of his ancestors." There is among them a survival of a social life still found in the French Pyrenees, as well as a certain social freedom among those who have spent some time in the United States. Parents, who generally welcome their youthful acquaintances, make it easy for young men to meet their daughters. Under the watchful care of her mother a young girl may meet young men more freely than in France, but less so than among Americans where sexes are not so kept apart as in French Canada. One may see, then, near these homes a large number of sleighs or carriages, according to the season, belonging to the callers. Numbers excite the pride of those who are the centre of attraction. One finds here not the Célimènes

[9] *Mémoires*, p. 61.
[10] De Gaspé, *Les Anciens Canadiens*, p. 60.
[11] Douglas, p. 39.
[12] De Gaspé, *Mémoires*, p. 358.

of the *Misanthrope* of Molière, but those of Canada, less brilliant, less artful, and less insincere; still the supreme art for many of them is to convey to every candidate the idea that he is the favourite. In the better homes the visitors of this kind are few.

The pre-matrimonial arrangements are still like those of old France where the father asked, in a formal way, the hand of her who was to become his daughter-in-law. *La grande demande* is yet quite an event.[13] The French Canadian marriage is not so individualistic as in Anglo-Saxon society. It is, first of all, a family affair attended with extensive festivities. Religion sets upon it its sacramental seal. The banquets, following the most momentous act of their life, have always been substantial and gay. In 1830 La Terrière tells us that "a dance and a feasting always succeed the marriage; and not only one dance and one feast, but most probably a dozen. The whole bridal *cortège* is a long string of *calèches,* if in the summer, of *carioles* in the winter, passing from house to house; and each night, for perhaps a fortnight, renews with unabated vigour both eating and dancing." [14] Six years before, Talbot speaks of more than fifty sleighs or other conveyances following the happy couple.[15]

Their gay nature never displays itself more felicitously than on these occasions. They never feel that their marriage is a misalliance. As a rule it is free from fear, and never has the dark prospect of divorce. They make no dissection of their happiness. Self-analysis is not common. A signal characteristic of these unions is the youthful parity of ages. Great differences in this respect are almost looked upon as improper. In cases of alliances between young men and older women, or between a widower of a

[13] De Gaspé, *Mémoires,* p. 416.
[14] La Terrière, *A Political and Historical Account of Lower Canada,* p. 134.
[15] Talbot, Vol. II, p. 295.

certain age and a very young woman, this feeling of protest takes the form of *charivaris,* mock serenades, with kettles, horns, and anything which makes a harrowing noise, kept up for the merriment of the participants and the indescribable annoyance of those for whom it is intended. As a rule these proceedings cease when the couple consent to pay an important sum for the benefit of charitable institutions.[16] Popular demonstrations of a kindred nature also take place on New Year's eve, when groups of young people go from house to house singing *La Guignolée,* and begging various things for the poor. This practice is considered the survival, here as in France, of old Druidical rites, which, in course of time, lost their peculiar character and now are dying out.[17]

Conviviality is the soul of their hospitality, which is generous and abundant. The day is past when thirty or forty guests would gather around the table of a family, as Abbé Casgrain describes. A characteristic trait of the best habitant table is its frugality and simplicity in ordinary times, but, on feast days, or when there are visitors, there is a great and varied abundance of food, cooked with a gastronomic art most creditable. With a minimum of conventionalities the meal goes on, enlivened by animated conversation, gay and spontaneous. It is rare that, during a visit to these hospitable homes, one does not see some acquaintances arrive during the dinner to be seated at the table, the housewife remaining composed and smiling, when her task is to provide, at once, for several extra, unexpected guests. They all display the vigorous appetite of men who till the soil.

There were formerly great abuses in the use of spirituous drinks. The habitants would band together to buy a barrel of rum. Several of them would order a barrel for their personal use and that of their visitors.[18] Still it was not

[16] Talbot, Vol. II, p. 300; Palmer, p. 227.
[17] E. Gagnon, *Chansons populaires,* p. 238.
[18] Têtu, p. 562.

so much among them "as among the English and especially Irish emigrants" that the evil of intemperance was great,[19] though even among French Canadians it was real. Campaigns and crusades were organised, one after another, to stop the evil and now the province is quite temperate. The old disgraceful system of elections was responsible for much of this. The candidates were nominated at a great public gathering, and elected by a mere show of hands. A week later there was a public proclamation of the name of the victor, followed by jubilations at his expense. Hundreds of carriages went through the country, stopping in many places for libations, and finally brought him to his home, where, according to Senator David, the combined miracles of the multiplication of the loaves and fishes and the turning of water into wine would scarcely have sufficed to feed the multitude.[20]

Sugar-making times are the occasion of numerous parties. Professor Louis Arnould of France tells us of the potatoes baked in ashes, of griddle-cakes three centimetres high containing bacon, of the lavish use of syrup and the fine time he had.[21] While not bent upon the exciting adventures of the British sportsmen, they do considerable hunting and fishing. Snow-shoeing parties are numerous and they have a great fondness for sleigh or carriage riding and the display of the qualities of their horses. They have raised skating almost to a fine art, and indulge in tobogganing. Golf is played but mostly by the rich. In whatever they do, in this respect, there is a more absorbing note of merriment and fun than with English Canadians. Neither the pleasure of the natives nor their pain deepens beneath the realm of feeling into that of thought upon fundamentals. With their peculiar faith they never experience Musset's anguish over the greatest of problems,

[19] Buckingham, p. 261.
[20] *L'Union des Canadas*, p. 287.
[21] *Nos Amis les Canadiens*, p. 294.

. . . malgré moi l'infini me tourmente,
Je n'y saurais songer sans crainte et sans espoir,
Et, quoi qu'on en ait dit, ma raison s'épouvante
De ne pas le comprendre et pourtant de le voir.[23]

It would be an erroneous conclusion to hold that French Canadians are not serious, and not gifted with deep ethical traits of utmost importance. They have the discipline of respect, a great reverence for moral worth, for real superiority, as well as for justice. Though they view this abstractly, it inspires them before tribunals with fear and awe. Joseph Pickering speaking of them there, says, "The courts were crowded with spectators, who behaved with more becoming gravity and decorum than I have often seen in the courts of England." [23] Their reverence in the churches is exceptional. The same Englishman continues, "Canadians on Sunday flock to their churches, with prayer-books in their hand, a decent deportment, and generally clean and neat, if not respectable attire." [24]

Christmas is the religious day *par excellence*. Every French Canadian wishes, if possible, to attend the midnight mass, which brings before him the birth of Jesus. Some of them enter so sympathetically into the celebration that this anniversary of the advent of the Redeemer seems like a new birth in Bethlehem. Hence their great desire to attend the mass, which appears to them in an atmosphere of mystical poetry, and to join with those who sing joyfully the beautiful and touching *Venite Adoremus* which has been honoured with such a high place in the hymnology of all Christian churches. They deeply love this great religious festival. The *réveillons de Noël* which follow, a sort of Christmas feast, are among the gayest social meetings of the year. In homes of great simplicity they dispense at this time a hospitality which is limitless. It is a happy

[23] *L'Espoir en Dieu.*
[24] *Ibid.*, p. 181.
[23] *Inquiries of an Emigrant*, p. 180.

combination of a mild epicureanism and the most earnest religious spirit, dominated by *la vieille gaieté gauloise*. The sacredness of the night, however, is not any more forgotten than the menu.

New Year's Day is deeply rooted in the national and the social traditions of the country, as in France. The old patriarchal life displays itself abundantly. The entire family, old and young, rise before daylight and go to the old father's home. Then, when they are all in line from the oldest to the youngest, the old patriarch appears, puts his hand upon the head of each, kneeling, and says, "My child, may God bless thee as I bless thee." The little Lacombe, destined later on to be a great missionary in the West, asked his father's blessing as follows: "My dear loved Papa, here is your little Albert at your feet; you love him, don't you? But he also loves you much, with his little heart! Please bless him that this benediction may last all his life—to the time when he shall be older than you. To show that you heed his prayer, then give him a kiss . . . and his New Year's present." [25] François Xavier Prieur, after the Uprising, in which he took part, was condemned to death, then endured a long suspense, not knowing whether he would be executed or deported. After his painful exile in New South Wales, and an absence of nine years, upon reaching home he fell at his father's feet, and "asked his blessing which was tenderly given." [26] This is so prized that thirty-two years later Crémazie, the poet, less than twelve months before his death, was overjoyed in Paris when he received, by letter, the blessing from his old mother.[27] Ill health, exile, poverty, neglect by his friends, were forgotten when he received the precious message.

The family is considered as a mystic channel of divine

[25] *Père Lacombe*, p. 9.
[26] *Notes d'un condamné politique*, p. 236.
[27] Crémazie, p. 536.

gifts. The father and the grandfather—sometimes the mother and grandmother—are to them representatives of God; hence the religious importance which is attached also to their supreme valediction. Abbé Casgrain, relating the last moments of M. de Gaspé, tells us how this noble spirit, about to die, expressed the hope that God would have mercy on his soul. "Then he raised his hand and said, 'Receive my last benediction; I bless you, my children and my grandchildren.' One of his daughters exclaimed, weeping, 'Father, bless also my little children who are away.' 'Yes, my daughter,' exclaimed the venerable man, 'I bless them. May they be happy and good Christians.' " [28] The peculiar faith and spirit embodied in these practices tend to disappear, according to Léon Gérin,[29] but it is still very strong in Quebec and in the settlements in the other provinces as well as in New England. What has decidedly survived, on New Year's Day, are the social traditions of old France, the many calls, the New Year's gifts, the tables loaded with sweetmeats and cakes of every description, and a deep feeling of benevolence and of hospitality.

The latter part of the winter gives a large place to amusements of various kinds, interrupted by Lent. Fasting, strenuous fasting, follows feasting, and Passion Week is for most of them an occasion of almost absolute religious absorption and devout fervour, at times bordering upon rapture. The services of Good Friday are peculiarly sad and poignant. Their imagination, broken loose from historical reality, brings home to them the death of the Redeemer, regardless of time. Did He die two thousand years ago, or now? This is irrelevant. He died, and died for all. The vague physical and mental depression, accompanying stringent religious fasting and strenuous religious tension, weighs upon them and is relieved by an equally realistic sense of the Resurrection with its hopes and joys.

[28] Casgrain, Vol. II, p. 291.

[29] *Royal Society*, III, Vol. II, p. 41.

Easter Sunday is, perhaps in part owing to a physical reaction, more joyful than Christmas. The liturgic formula that voices their religious jubilations, ever ringing in every part of their services, "Hallelujah," seems to extend over their general life. Their range of emotions, religious and social, is wider and more varied than with us Protestants. With this come Easter eggs, joyous meetings, the feasts and delights of vernal time.

Baptisms are occasions of important family gatherings, for, according to them, this sacrament takes to church a pagan and brings home a Christian. Having such a sense of the importance of this rite, it is easy to see how natural are the rejoicings at this time. The first communion, viewed as one of the most essential events of religious life, gives rise to much family delight and cheer. It is the entrance of Christ into the happy heart that received Him. The poets Crémazie, Nelligan, and others have been prolific in noble verses on New Year's Day, but Fréchette, the greatest of them all, has often made this first communion the occasion of his most heartfelt lyrical creations.

It is difficult for foreigners to understand the depth and constancy of home religious life among French Canadians. Formal and, at times, mechanical, it enters into all that they do. Free from all rationalistic tendencies, asserting itself with the force of an instinct, it not infrequently reaches the borderland of fatalism. As the writer urged one of them not to visit his neighbour having smallpox, he said, "I will go. If God wants me to have smallpox I shall have it." It ever finds them ready to pray. "Although I worked by the side of my father," says G. E. Marquis, "I have never seen him begin his work, either in the fields, in the woods, or elsewhere, without removing his cap, crossing himself, and addressing a prayer to Heaven." [30] After supper, setting aside everything, his

[30] *Aux Sources canadiennes*, p. 27.

mother began with a deep voice, pronouncing each word well, "Let us place ourselves in the presence of God and worship him." [31] When the church bells ring, three times a day, the Angelus is recited with a devotion like that immortalised by Millet's masterpiece. The same attitude is shown when they sit at table. That keen-eyed observer, Louis Hémon, has admirably sketched the bearing of a family when supper is served, "Signs of the cross all round the table; lips utter silent *benedicite*. Telephore and Alma-Rose recite theirs with a loud voice; then other signs of the cross." [32]

On Sunday, if possible, every one attends mass or vespers. If kept at home they kneel when church bells announce the elevation of the Host.[33] When there is no church or it is too far away, the pious people have a recital of the rosary.[34] When, at a great distance from all church services, the news comes that the *fiancé* of Maria Chapdelaine has perished, her father comforts her by saying, "Every Sunday we will say our chaplet for him." [35] When this takes place every one present is expected to join. At times it is recited in the idiom of their church. For them, *Kyrie eleison,* which is Greek, and *Credo in unum Deum,* which is Latin, are both the same tongue. These prayers in the language of St. Jerome are so pronounced that the noble saint could surely not understand them. However, then, they are at the point where *Oremus* and *Let us pray* face the same obstacle, where the learned and the untaught come to what St. Paul calls "the unspeakable things," the relations between ourselves and the Creator, the mysterious communion with the Infinite, giving us a great sense of our limitations. Then the formal accidents of prayer sink into insignificance.

[31] *Aux Sources canadiennes,* p. 32.
[32] *Maria Chapdelaine,* p. 30.
[33] De Celles, *Canada and Its Provinces,* Vol. XV, p. 90.
[34] Groulx, *Les Rappeillages,* p. 49.
[35] *Maria Chapdelaine,* p. 139.

A domestic event of importance is the annual visit of their priest for the *Quète de l'Enfant Jésus*. As a rule he is attended by one of his churchwardens. Met at the door he is invited to enter, and gives his blessing followed by a prayer during which every person present is kneeling.[36] In some instances these visits are more or less formal but as a rule the clergyman has a genial and paternal attitude. His visits are generally followed by a donation. Judge Rivard tells us one instance when a common sleigh followed that of the ecclesiastical visitor, and the family gave a pumpkin, a bunch of onions, and two hares.[37] They are for the poor and the needy of the community who are well looked after. A greater event is the visit of the bishop to the church of the parish. His coming has been announced long before, and has been the object of extensive preparations. The streets, in which the prelate passes in full canonicals, are decorated in various ways. On his arrival the parishioners are in front of the church on their knees and, bare-headed, receive his benediction. The visit of the bishop is the occasion for a great display of loyalty, in honouring one of the princes of the Church.

Apart from religious gatherings, when the people come together on Sunday after church, their political reunions, the spontaneous service to the sick and the *veillées des morts*, giving a dignified, comforting companionship to the bereaved, they have many occasions of social contact such as "raisings," corn-huskings, and flax-beating when they help one another—and there is much of that—which are generally concluded by joyous repasts, merry-making, recreation, and social life. Taine says that the "Italians wish to make life a fine feast." There is something of that in the French Canadian. "Quebec," says W. H. Moore, "has two or three public holidays for Ontario's one; and these days set apart by church custom are invariably spent

[36] Rivard, *Chez nos gens*, p. 21. [37] *Ibid.*, p. 22.

in enjoyment." [38] The St. Jean-Beptiste day is at once religious and national. While celebrated in various ways in different places, it is the day that brings into prominence the national ties holding French Canadians together. Of late years an attempt has been made to have it also a festival of education, by distributing, on that day, prizes to the pupils of the schools. The visit of the superintendent of education to a normal school is considered an event. Some of the superior classes of the school may be visited, but its aim is principally for meeting the teachers and students.[39]

The new education of the province has certainly introduced new festivals which are in keeping with the temperament of the people. In the larger places they celebrate also English holidays. These changes break down the old routine. However, it is difficult to speak absolutely of customs and usages which change very unevenly according to culture and locality. In some districts there is a survival of the old merry times, but both the old and the new are the ways of a people who have organised their activities so as to have leisure and less strenuousness than Anglo-Canadians. An eminent French Canadian says, "The pleasant life of the good old time ran its course chiefly in the old parishes along the St. Lawrence and Richelieu." [40] True, true; but the "old order changeth." The schools, the railways, the newspapers, automobiles, and travel have disturbed many things, but the life of the French Canadian, on the side of felicity, is far from having deteriorated. The practices and the spirit of their festivities are the poetry that embellishes their toilsome life, and exhibits their contentment in the midst of their serious occupations.

[38] *The Clash*, p. 142.

[39] See for the character of these addresses, C. F. Delage, *Conférences, discours, lettres.*

[40] De Celles, *Canada and Its Provinces*, Vol. XV, p. 112.

CHAPTER XII

EXPANSION OF FRENCH CANADIAN LIFE

THE great wonder of French Canadian life is the strength of its expansive vitality and its social coherence. Much has been done by the clergy to attain these two results. The religious and the national aims have been ethnocentric. In their eyes the Church has been the nation and the nation the Church. It would, however, be a grave error to think of the people as separated from the rest of the world by linguistic and other impediments. Irresistible social forces break through every hindrance to their normal action, and reduce to naught the finest systems that disregard them. Intense French Canadian life expanded beyond political and ecclesiastical landmarks. Large families, cramped in the small land divisions of the old régime, had to seek a larger field or greater freedom, and, when they could not find near them the elements of livelihood or of education which they needed, they looked elsewhere for them.

Doubtless the peculiarly narrow range of activities at home led young men to join those wanderers from France who lived with the Indians and married Indian women.[1] This explains the permanence of the *coureurs-de-bois* of old or of the *chasseurs* who left home [2] to go westward and northward, led seldom by definite knowledge, or by ethical considerations, but by the spirit of adventure. They wished to escape the trying poverty of the rural districts, the great moral languor and their narrow life. They had heard the

[1] John Fiske, *New France and New England*, p. 105.
[2] Alexander Mackenzie, Vol. I, p. 22; Dugas, p. 125.

wonderful stories of the vast and fascinating world west of them; as they were full of energy they longed to see what it was and make their own use of it.

According to Dr. Colby, the *coureurs* represented the dash, the boldness which the early settlers displayed. They were as good as men of that type could be, not as bad as John Fiske and Bourinot make them,[3] yet unequal to the marvels concerning them related by travellers. "These Canadian voyageurs," says Hugh Gray, in 1809, "are hardy, strong fellows: they have been known to carry at once five packages, weighing about eighty pounds each over a portage of nine miles." [4] In any case, most of them rendered important services. For Judge L. A. Prud'homme, this movement has an intimate relation with Indian and French marriages which scarcely existed prior to 1775.[5] French Canadian writers are inclined to his views that the chiefs of these expeditions were honourable men, often accompanied by missionaries. When the North-West Company engaged men for three years they married Indian women, and then began the existence of the French half-breeds. For Principal W. L. Grant, "there seems to be something wild and roving in the French character, which gives them greater sympathy with savage races." Their *coureurs-de-bois* "took to wife one or more of the soft-eyed daughters of the forest. This was not unknown among the English." [6] No, indeed! When the eminent father of this gentleman, the Rev. Dr. George Monro Grant, reached British Columbia and saw English farmers with Indian wives he exclaimed, "It may seem wonderful that these prosperous farmers should not have white wives." [7] This Christian gentleman of the Upper Canada college would not be inclined to explain the absence of race prejudice to the intense Catholic

[3] *Canada Under British Rule*, p. 106.
[4] *Letters from Canada*, p. 155.
[5] *Royal Society*, III, Vol. III, p. 35.
[6] *History of Canada*, p. 70.
[7] *Ocean to Ocean*, p. 296.

teaching of the brotherhood of man, and the conception of St. Paul that God "hath made of one blood all nations of men."

The North-West Company, aware of the popularity of the French among the Indians, and of their adaptability to primitive conditions, called a large number of them to its service [8] and so did the Hudson's Bay Company. In the early days of navigation through the rapids of the St. Lawrence, they were indispensable, and many were the deaths of those gay and cheerful toilers. The art of the conquerors was to harness them to the chariot of their fortune without sharing it. They used them northward and westward. Sir Alexander Mackenzie had them in the X. Y. Company, founded in 1800. When John Jacob Astor organized the Astoria, an American attempt to divert some of the fur trade from the English, he depended upon the voyageurs.[9] Carver had a French guide.[10] There is scarcely a page of the account of his travels without a reference to the French. Mackenzie constantly used them for his explorations. They were "so expert," he says, "that few accidents happen." [11] "They knew the land," he says, "and had knowledge of climatical conditions." [12] In 1789 four of his intrepid helpers were from the vanquished.[13] In 1793, as he started for the Pacific Ocean with nine companions, six were French.[14] Two of them accompanied him on two of his most important trips.

In 1819 Sir John Franklin, beginning his explorations of the Coppermine and the Arctic Coast, had eighteen of them.[15] The American expedition to the source of the St. Peter River constantly used French Canadians. They acted

[8] Dugas, p. 22.
[9] De Celles, *Canada and Its Provinces,* Vol. XV, p. 73.
[10] *Carver's Travels,* p. 31.
[11] A. Mackenzie, *Voyages from Montreal through the Continent,* Vol. I, p. lvi.
[12] *Ibid.,* Vol. II, p. 10.
[13] Routhier, *De Québec,* p. 59.
[14] A. Mackenzie, Vol. II, p. 30.
[15] De Celles, *Canada and Its Provinces,* Vol. XV, p. 78.

as guides and as conductors of the party.[16] John McLaughlin, of the Hudson's Bay Company, from Fort Vancouver, sent his French Canadians through every waterway.[17] Quesnell of the same company, with a crew of twenty-one, had nineteen French Canadians when he went on the voyage down the Fraser.[18] When James Douglas was in charge of the York express of the Hudson's Bay Company, he had a party of twenty-nine French Canadians.[19] Everywhere in the exploration and opening of the country these men helped British explorers and traders to do their best, and rendered them important services such as these Canadians only could render. They were reliable.[20]

Long before these men, who did work for which they received no credit and from which Canada greatly benefitted, we find traces of those devoted missionaries and explorers who really discovered the land. In 1647 the Jesuit, De Quen, first visited Lake St. Jean.[21] In 1669 the Sulpician, Galinée, in his bark canoe, on the west side of Lake Ontario, saw the Niagara River; but it was only in 1678 that Recollet Hennepin discovered the falls.[22] "Hennepin," says Dr. Moore, "the first white man to see and describe Niagara Falls and tell of the buffalo, although wearing the frock of a priest and writing with the pen of a Fenimore Cooper, possessed the soul of a *coureur-de-bois*." [23] In 1672 an expedition, accompanied by Father Charles Aubanel, reached the Hudson Bay.[24] La Salle built the first boat upon Lake Ontario and founded Niagara.[25] Father Marquette established the Ste. Marie mission on the south

[16] W. H. Keating, *Narrative of an Expedition to the Source of the St. Peter River in 1823,* Vol. II, pp. 2, 40, 74.
[17] R. H. Coats, and R. E. Gosnell, *Sir James Douglas,* p. 111.
[18] *Ibid.,* p. 60.
[19] *Ibid.,* p. 121.
[20] Bonnycastle, *The Canadas in 1841,* Vol. II, p. 13.
[21] Garneau, Vol. I, p. 224.
[22] A. Buies, *Recits de voyages,* p. 70.
[23] *The Clash,* p. 56.
[24] Garneau, Vol. I, p. 225.
[25] Desrosiers and Fournet, p. 184.

side of the Sault.[26] Pierre Gauthier, Sieur de la Verendrye, reached the Rocky Mountains sixty years before Lewis and Clark.[27]

Dr. G. M. Grant does ample justice to Talon's great designs. "Under his direction," he says, Saint-Simon and Couture reached the Hudson Bay by the valley of the Saguenay; Père Druillettes the Atlantic seaboard by the Kennebec." [28] Dr. Moore speaks of the same great French activity in this field. "While Roundheads and Cavaliers were fighting it out in England, Frenchmen were mapping the Great Lakes of Canada. . . During the days of the French régime Canadians paddled the Winnipeg River and the Assiniboine. They had discovered Lakes Manitoba, Winnipegosis, and Dauphin and travelled the Saskatchewan as well, tracing its branches to the foothills of the Rocky Mountains." [29] There M. de Niverville erected Fort de la Joncquière. [30] One is gratified to see an Anglo-Canadian write as follows: "Etienne Brulé, the guide of missionaries, ventured into streams and forests against the advice of his neighbours and in the end paid the usual penalty of the men who wrested Canada for civilisation— death at the stake. . . . Duluth and his cousin, the intrepid Tonty, spent practically a lifetime in the outposts which the most hardy visited only after consigning their souls to God." [31]

These same Canadians became distant pioneers and founders of many historic places. Iberville and Bienville settled a colony in the country that became Louisiana, a name given to it by La Salle.[32] Iberville founded the city of New Orleans [33] and Lemoyne Bienville the city of Mobile.

[26] Bourinot, *Canada Under British Rule*, p. 17.
[27] Bibaud, p. 131; Garneau, Vol. II, p. 130.
[28] *Picturesque Canada*, p. 16.
[29] *The Clash*, p. 45.
[30] James Bain, *Introduction to the Travels and the Adventures in Canada of Alexander Henry*, p. xix.
[31] Moore, p. 56.
[32] Bourinot, *Canada Under British Rule*, p. 18.
[33] Bender, p. 29.

Pierre Laclède laid the foundation of St. Louis.[34] Two men of the name of Langlade were first settlers of Wisconsin. Dubuque, remembered by the city of that name, was the first settler of Iowa.[35] Buisson de Vincennes gave his name to the well-known city of Knox County, Indiana.[36] The port of Galveston was opened by Michel Branamour Ménard. His nephew played an important part in the history of Texas.[37] Milwaukee was founded by Salomon Juneau.[38] Detroit began its history with La Mothe Cadillac.[39] Faribault, first in cultivating the soil west of the Mississippi, was the founder of Faribault, Minnesota.[40] Du Lhut gave his name to the city of Duluth.[41] Parent, Gervais, and Guérin were the first inhabitants of St. Paul. Pierre Ménard was the first governor of Illinois.[42] Abbé Piquet founded Ogdensburg.[43] In 1699 the Jesuits, Pinet and Bineteau, started a mission where in 1830 Colonel Beaubien established a small village, now Chicago. This famous place was mentioned by La Salle.[44]

All these men, however enterprising and daring, were surpassed everywhere by "the Black Robes," as the Indians called the missionaries who were found early at the Hudson's Bay where, as later on, one of them expresses it, "the winter comes one month before the autumn."[45] They ever went farther in their splendid mission than the most intrepid adventurer in search of wealth. We have already spoken of the large number who died the violent death of the martyr. Among them the heroic note is constant—not money, but souls. The young missionary, A. A. Taché,

[34] Bender, p. 36.
[35] De Celles, *Canada and Its Provinces*, Vol. XV, p. 77.
[36] Meilleur, p. 312.
[37] Bibaud, p. 217.
[38] *Ibid.*, p. 163.
[39] Casgrain, Vol. I, p. 51.
[40] *Ibid.*, Vol. II p. 172.
[41] Colby, pp. 197, 210.
[42] Saint-Maurice, *Loin du pays*, Vol. II, p. 164.
[43] Bibaud, p. 254.
[44] De Celles, *Canada and Its Provinces*, Vol. XV, p. 77.
[45] Dugas, p. 97.

later on Bishop Taché, reached the Red River, after a trip in a bark canoe which lasted sixty-two days.[46] Père Laverchère, a Missionary like Fr. Taché, reached Abitibi by the Great Lakes, and then by the Hudson's Bay, rowing much of the way, educating and preaching, where possible, amidst circumstances involving unspeakable hardships, and laying the foundation of a work meant for the Indians, but which has become of transcendent import for the white man.[47] Père Paradis explored the Temiscaming, and other missionaries like him revealed the possibilities of the territories in which they were. Père Lacombe evangelised several tribes, learned their languages, reduced them to writing, wrote books in their vernacular, and again and again quieted them when about to fight with another tribe or with the white man. He devoted sixty-one years of his life to this apostleship.[48]

To the French are due names of places which not only indicate their origin but show their poetic spirit and psychology; the Lac-qui-parle, Belleplaine, Bellevue, Bellefontaine, Defiance, Cœur d'Hélène, Raquette, La Tourelle, Grosse Pointe, Mille Isles, and Parachûte.[49-50] Sir A. B. Routhier mentions a large number of names of western Canada which have an incomparable charm, Cap-à-l'aigle,[51] Portage-du-Rat,[52] Beauséjour,[53] Rivière de la Biche,[54] Fort Auguste, Fort des Prairies, Grotte d'Azur, and Rivière de l'Arc.[55] There are many traces of French activities such as old orchards, gardens, and language. Many of the English geographic terms long had a French form. Howison and many others spoke of the river Saskatchawine. The servants

[46] David, *Biographies et portraits*, p. 253.
[47] Buies, *L'Outaouais supérieur*, p. 242.
[48] *Bulletin de la Société de géographie de Québec*, 1911, p. 233: A Sister of Providence. *Le Père Lacombe d'après ses mémoires et souvenirs.*
[49-50] Estournelles de Constant, p. 185.
[51] *De Québec à Victoria*, p. 36.
[52] *Ibid.*, p. 81.
[53] *Ibid.*, p. 83.
[54] *Ibid.*, p. 179.
[55] *Ibid.*, p. 280.

of the Hudson's Bay Company were *engagés,* the others *gens libres* and, in parts visited by Keating and his party, Indians are called *Bois brûlés.*[56] As Dr. George Monro Grant describes his ascent of the Rocky Mountains he mentioned many French names which like so many others are indices of the passage of these French scouts; nay these *éclaireurs* of civilisation.

Even detractors are obliged to recognise the deep impression made upon the Indians by these Frenchmen. Mathew Cocking, making a journey on behalf of the Hudson's Bay Company along the Hays River, writes a few notes. "Formerly the French had a house here." As he goes down he comes to the François settlement and writes "François is an old ignorant Frenchmen." He employs twenty French Canadians. Then comes the remark, "It surprises me to perceive what a warm side the natives hath to the French Canadians." [57] Dr. G. M. Grant, ever fair and penetrating in his remarks, says, "We Anglo-Saxons are apt to sneer at French politeness. I verily believe that the chief reason why the French have often succeeded better than ourselves with the North American Indians was by virtue of that same politeness of theirs." [58] This is very true, but the deeper reasons are their humaneness, their warmth of feeling and the unselfishness of their missionaries.

As religious workers French Canadians have been indefatigable. Professor Arnould of the University of Rennes, France, says, "From this little province of Quebec, from this tiny French colony . . . have arisen three-quarters of the clergy of North America who derived from the seminary of Quebec or from St. Sulpice, the knowledge and the virtues which adorn to-day the clergy of the English [Catholics] as well as those of the French tongue of

[56] Keating, Vol. II, p. 40.
[57] *Royal Society,* III, Vol. II, pp. 91, 118, and 119.
[58] *Ocean to Ocean,* p. 163.

Canada." [59] Not to speak of their bishops in the United States—there have been many—their prelates have served the dioceses of Vancouver, Hamilton, Kingston, and Ottawa. Archbishop Beliveau occupies the See of St. Boniface, the transriverine suburb of Winnipeg.[60] Mgr. Ovide Charlebois is bishop of Keewatin, Ontario, and the former rector of Laval University is archbishop of Regina. With the numerous leaders of their Church there is a large body of priests, monks, friars, and nuns in institutions of all kinds to serve and help their kinsmen from Gaspé to Victoria, and from Prince Rupert to Cape Breton. There are important French Canadian settlements in various parts of the Dominion. St. Boniface is as strong a French Catholic town as any in Quebec. In front of its post office one reads *Hôtel des postes,* and when soldiers returned from the war an electric illumination in front of the town hall read *Bienvenue à St. Boniface.* All the municipal officers are French. In Manitoba and elsewhere it would be difficult to give an idea of the many French Canadians who have been lieutenant-governors and consuls, prominent in the western provinces, provincial attorneys, representatives in Parliament, ministers and members of the Royal Society of Canada. Their working class in these settlements keep their home traits, are ideal axmen, patient farmers, the bravest and most persistent men of this class in Canada.

The expansion of French Canadian life over the American borders began very early. The movement really started after the French and Indian wars. When the two peoples exchanged prisoners, some French Canadians declined to return to Canada. We have the names of two of them, Cosset and Le Fèvre.[61] Some immigrants arrived on the morrow of the Cession.[62] Not a few of them fought

[59] *Nos Amis les Canadiens,* p. 333.
[60] *Almanach du peuple,* 1919, p. 93.
[61] C. A. Baker, *True Stories of New England Captives,* p. 53.
[62] Desrosiers and Fournet, p. 218.

in the Revolutionary War. A French Canadian of the name of Nugent was colonel of a Boston regiment.[63] Pierre de Sales la Terrière, on his way to Boston in 1788, found a Canadian settled in the plain of Plymouth, New Hampshire,[64] and old French Canadian names among Yankees would indicate that such cases were fairly numerous. Not a few took part in the War of 1812. Jacques Philippe Rouer, major of the Louisiana militia, fought in the Battle of New Orleans in 1815, and was governor from 1816 to 1820.[65] Many settled along Lake Champlain. At the time of the oppressive Craig régime there was a movement of emigration to Vermont. "In two months," says Dionne, "three hundred families crossed the Canadian frontier." [66] Before the Uprising there was a considerable emigration of young men,[67] and after the Rebellion some sought refuge here. Later on labourers passed into New England for the harvest season.[68] Between 1845 and 1849, 20,000 left their native soil.[69] Dr. Meilleur sets the figures of the movement from 1819 to 1854 at 100,000,[70] and by 1876 the numbers were doubled. According to Desrosiers and Fournet, from 1875 to 1890 they were trebled.[71] The same authors in 1901 working upon returns from ecclesiastical authorities of each diocese, reach the figures of 921,989, or more than fifteen times the population left in Canada at the time of the Treaty of Paris. The number is now probably not far from one million and a half.

In the early days of the onrush of this emigration the new-comers were very poor, not infrequently morally inferior, sometimes vicious, but invariably ignorant. Later

[63] Stone and Hund, p. 49.
[64] *Mémoires*, p. 156.
[65] Bibaud, p. 340.
[66] *Pierre Bédard et ses fils*, p. 72.
[67] Durham, p. 201.
[68] R. P. Duclos, *Histoire du protestantisme français au Canada et aux Etats-Unis*, Vol. I, p. 170.
[69] J. C. Chapais, *Canada and Its Provinces*, Vol. XVI, p. 518.
[70] *Mémorial de l'éducation du Bas-Canada, p.* 404
[71] *La Race française en Amérique*, p. 220.

on, came a more honourable and more intelligent class, often in groups of families or as individuals.[72] Less mobile than the others, having more moral ballast, they settled in definite localities, preferably in industrial towns, the children in large numbers working in factories. These families were so much to each other that when one moved to another community the others often followed, creating group cohesion and bringing a large number of French Canadians to the same places, where they built their own churches. They marked a decided improvement upon the earlier comers. They were poor but honest. Later still was the advent of professional men and women—priests, friars, monks, nuns, pastors, lawyers, doctors, and professors. As a result the monks have establishments in Lowell, Massachusetts, and in San Antonio, Texas; the Brothers of the Sacred Heart have 42 friars and 1,360 pupils in New Hampshire and Rhode Island; the Marist Brothers are in Plattsburg;[73] the Brothers of St. Gabriel have a commercial school in Burlington, Vermont,[74] ten fathers of the Blessed Sacrament are in New York, and the Missionaries of the Salette have a school in Hartford Connecticut.[75]

Emerson esteems it "a chief felicity of this country that she excels in women." French Canada might modestly express a similar opinion concerning its women, and especially the mothers of the country and the monastics. There is almost a sublime monotony in the narration of their philanthropic works in the United States. There are the Hospitable Sisters of St. Joseph in Vermont.[76] The Grey Nuns having 42 members of their Order in Toledo, 18 in Lawrence, 11 in Boston, 18 in Worcester, 21 in Cambridge, 26 in Nashua, and 27 in New Brunswick, New

[72] Léon Gérin, *Royal Society*, III, Vol. II, p. 58.
[73] *Le Canada ecclésiastique*, 1918, p. 422.
[74] *Ibid.*, p. 424. [75] *Ibid.*, p. 426. [76] *Ibid.*, p. 441.

Jersey doing all forms of the good samaritan service.[77] The Grey Nuns of St. Hyacinthe have 122 sisters, trained nurses, and servants in New England.[78] The Providence Sisters of Charity have 644 nuns, 9 secular teachers, and 808 employees.[79] The Sisters of the Holy Cross and of the Seven Dolors have 13 establishments.[80] The Sisters of Miséricorde have hospitals in five American dioceses.[81] The same tireless activity of the Grey Sisters of Quebec is displayed in the diocese of Fall River and Boston.[82] The Sisters of the Good Shepherd have several establishments.[83] The Little Franciscan Sisters of Mary, with their schools and asylums, have 111 sisters working in four states.[84] The Daughters of Jesus combine hospital and school work in Montana.[85] Having merely touched their charity and hospital service, we must turn to their educational work.

We speak elsewhere of the teaching of the sisters generally known as *Les Dames de la Congrégation*, but here we confine ourselves to their work in the United States. They have 56 sisters and 1,290 pupils in the diocese of Chicago, 1 establishment in Hartford with 13 sisters and 184 pupils, 23 sisters with 816 pupils in the diocese of Providence, and 27 sisters with 849 pupils in the diocese of New York.[86] The Sisters of the Holy Names of Jesus and Mary have 5 schools in New York, 2 in Florida, 9 in California, 12 in Oregon, 7 in Washington, 2 in Michigan, and 1 in Illinois.[87] The Sisters of the Holy Cross and of the Seven Dolors have 21 schools mostly in New England, with 215 sisters and over 8,000 pupils.[88] The Servite Sisters of the Immaculate Heart of Mary have 54 sisters and 2,765 pupils.[89] The Sisters of St. Ann have 223 members, 9,498 pupils, not to speak of their hospital work.[90]

[77] *Le Canada ecclésiastique*, p. 445. [78] *Ibid.*, p. 450. [79] *Ibid.*, p. 459.
[80] *Ibid.*, p. 473. [81] *Ibid.*, p. 476. [82] *Ibid.*, p. 478.
[83] *Ibid.*, p. 480. [84] *Ibid.*, p. 507. [85] *Ibid.*, p. 520.
[86] *Ibid.*, p. 440. [87] *Ibid.*, p. 463. [88] *Ibid.*, p. 473.
[89] *Ibid.*, p. 480. [90] *Ibid.*, p. 483.

The Sisters of the Assumption of the Holy Virgin have 11 schools with 114 sisters and 4,635 pupils.[91] The Sisters of the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary with 198 members have 5,245 pupils.[92]

The Canadians who came to the United States have been helped and guided by their various clergymen and by monastics. As a people they constitute an intelligent, industrious, law-abiding part of the population. All the police organisations that we have consulted are as one upon this point. Though at first largely made up of labourers, there are not a few among them who have risen to important positions. In 1884 two were elected to the Maine legislature. In 1907 thirteen in Massachusetts held various offices, from mayor to that of representative and consul. The same civic honours have been conferred upon them in Vermont, New Hampshire, and Connecticut,[93] and one, the Hon. Aram J. Pothier, was governour of Rhode Island longer than any one else since the adoption of the state constitution.[94] One of the great shoe manufacturers of New England, Thomas Plant, and the maker of pianos, Edmund Côté, are French Canadians. The assimilation of the French Canadians will take place sooner or later, but it is retarded by the large number of students who enter institutions in Canada, also by their parochial schools, and the French Canadian press. The *St. Jean-Baptiste* societies, the *Association Canado-Américaine* exert an influence in the same direction.

The regular and the secular clergy in Canada have been affected by this life beyond the frontier. Their teachers have adopted many an American practice. The influence exerted by the shops has been deep. It has developed the practical spirit, manual skill, and technical aptitudes.[95]

[91] *Le Canada ecclésiastique,* p. 487.
[92] *Ibid.,* p. 490.
[93] *Almanach du peuple,* 1907, p. 203.
[94] *Who's Who in America,* 1918-1919.
[95] Léon Gérin, *Royal Society,* III, Vol. II, p. 61.

Whether the new-comer stayed or returned to Canada, he stimulated the old home in the matter of better housing, of more progressive farming, better and lighter tools, a wider use of machinery, a greater sense of the value of education, and a greater spirit, even, of religious independence. The whole trend has been towards a greater mental alertness and a more intelligent use of life.

American influence began with the prisoners taken during the French and Indian wars. In 1737 Mr. T. Prince, speaking for Massachusetts, says that "numbers of the present people in Canada are the children of this province [96] or their descendants." [97] Miss C. A. Baker quotes General Hoyt, saying that twenty-eight of the Deerfield captives remained in Canada mixing wth the French and the Indians, and forgetting the manners and customs of their native country.[98] Elizabeth Naim and Ignace Raisenne, from among these, were married; most of their children entered various services of the Church, and Marie Raisenne became mother superior of the Sisters of the Congregation,[99] among whom converts from Deerfield had been previously admitted.[100] The granddaughter of Thomas French became the mother of Bishop Plessis.[101] Judge Charles Gill of Montreal was the descendant of an American prisoner who chose to remain in Canada.[102] Mary Ann Seaman, also a captive, married Joseph de Tonnancourt. Her daughter became, like herself, a Catholic.[103] Mary Silver, a young captive from Haverhill, became a hospital Sister at the Hôtel-Dieu of Montreal,[104] like the daughter

[96] Massachusetts.
[97] Appendix to Rev. John Williams, *The Redeemed Captive*, p. 211.
[98] *True Stories of New England Captives*, p. 250.
[99] *Vie de la sœur Bourgeois*, Vol. II, p. 442.
[100] Baker, pp. 85, 248.
[101] *Ibid.*, p. 284.
[102] *Notes Historiques sur la Famille Gill*, 1887; *La Famille Gill*, 1889; *La Famille Gill*, 1892.
[103] *Les Ursulines des Trois-Rivières*, pp. 191, 194.
[104] *Vie de Mlle. Mance*, Vol. II, p. 166.

of Ethan Allen.[105] The episcopal clergyman, Virgil Horace Barber, became a Jesuit, his wife, an Augustinian, and their children joined various orders.[106] Stephen Burroughs went to Canada and commenced business as a manufacturer of counterfeit American money. One of his sons rose to the position of protonotary, another became a merchant, and a daughter became Lady Superior of the Ursuline Convent of Three Rivers. Abbé Holmes, born in Windsor, Vermont, was a converted Protestant whose sisters followed him. One became an Ursuline, and another was the mother of Dr. De Celles, the Parliament librarian and man of letters. The Rev. Joseph Jackson, also a Protestant, became a Sulpician.[107-108]

During the American Revolution there were in the province about eight hundred persons who had deserted the military service of the revolted colonies,[109] In 1800 Weld says that "a great number of peoples from the United States emigranted annually" [110] to Canada. Professor Silliman speaks of an American dentist in Montreal, who operated with much improved methods, and he mentions calls from his countrymen in that city. An American, Jonathan Sewell, reached the highest judicial position in the country. In 1818 John Palmer says that the people of Montreal are a mixture of Canadians, British and Americans.

Some French Canadians went to the United States to secure educational advantages which could not be had at home. In 1789 Pierre de Sales la Terrière studied at Harvard and graduated in medicine.[111] Mark Pascal de la Terrière obtained a similar degree from the University of Pennsylvania in 1812.[112] Dr. François Blanchet, arrested

[105] *Vie de Mlle. Mance,* Vol. II, p. 302.
[106-108] Bibaud, p. 283.
[109] *Ibid.,* p. 305.
[110] Dionne, p. 71.
[111] Vol. I, p. 408.
[112] *Mémoires,* p. 189.
Casgrain, Vol. II, p. 228.

and imprisoned by Craig,[113] obtained his diploma in the United States.[114] Jean-Baptiste Meilleur, to whom all friends of French Canadian education owe a debt of gratitude, studied geology and mineralogy under Professor Hall, at Middlebury College[115] and taught French there in 1825.[116] He speaks of two professors, trained in the United States, teaching philosophy in the colleges of Nicollet and St. Hyacinthe,[117] of a French Canadian who in 1832 went to Hartford to study, under Mr. Laurent Clerc, the education of the deaf and dumb with the methods of Abbé de l'Epée of Paris,[118] of the musical director of the church school of St. Peter who finished in France studies begun with success under the Stars and Stripes.[119] Other American institutions have had, and still have, many French Canadian students. Goldwin Smith's theory of French Canada as a relic of the historical past, "preserved like a Siberian mammoth in ice," [120] does not work. The French Canadian is living, though conservative, expanding slowly but irresistibly in his own way.

Isolated from France for nearly a century by England, French Canadians have now revived the old connection. Several treaties between the land of Joffre and that of Laurier have been signed. Their mutual commerce has increased. Several new orders have come over, and professors have been imported for French Canadian education. Since 1888, with the exception of one year, the Notre Dame Church of Montreal has had the benefit of a French preacher for Lent. Visitors from Paris are growing in number. The movement has been helped by Anglo-Canadian sympathies for France called forth by the Entente, and a growing

[113] Lady Edgar, *General Brock*, p. 128.
[114] Bibaud, p. 41.
[115] *Ibid.*, p. 215.
[116] Meilleur, *Mémorial de l'éducation du Bas-Canada*, p. 79.
[117] *Ibid.*, p. 311.
[118] *Ibid.*, p. 153.
[119] *Ibid.*, p. 268.
[120] *The Political Destiny of Canada*, p. 11.

British admiration for the science, culture, refinement, and art south of the British Channel. This refers particularly to English Canadians of the larger type. When M. Philippe Roy, the general commissioner of Canada in Paris, visited the provinces with a view to securing scholarships for Canadian students he succeeded in obtaining nineteen. The legislatures of Ontario, British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan and Quebec gladly voted them. The latter province has now fifteen scholarships for Europe. The University of Paris is attempting to draw these students, and is ready to do all it can to make them feel at home. Ecclesiastical students will receive the warmest possible welcome from the *Institut Catholique*. M. Roy has taken the initiative of a *Maison d'accueil* in Paris, an institution which shall be a memorial to Canadian soldiers, fallen upon French soil, and a Paris home for Canadian students.

This return to France, which has not weakened their loyalty to the British connection, is not absolutely new. It would be difficult to mention an important writer who has not visited Paris or lived in France. A study of these sojourns would be tantamount to writing the intellectual history of French Canada. The greater number of professors of Laval have made there quite a residence.[121] Several law students have been invited to lecture in the French capital. Dr. Brodeur not only had his thesis as a student crowned by the Academy of Sciences, but received the Cross of the Legion of Honour.[122] It is rare to meet a physician, or a surgeon of any importance, who was not a student there. During the winter of 1919-1920 there were sixteen French Canadian physicians studying in the School of Medicine and that for one year or two. We do not speak of students of pure science, of those at the

[121] T. R. Preston, Vol. I, p. 67; Hauranne, Vol. I, p. 391.
[122] Saint-Maurice, *Loin du pays*, Vol. I, p. 57.

Ecole libre des Sciences politiques nor of the art students. There are now 120 of these young French Canadians in various schools of France.[123] This movement has affected most of their institutions, and mainly the medical schools, whose work has been enriched and renovated. They were the first on this continent to enfranchise themselves from Germanic influence, and to glory in the works of the great men of the French medical world.

Notwithstanding efforts to check this contact with the larger life of France, it is extending. Travelling is more and more considered an essential part of an intellectual life. Educated Quebeckers have read more extensively outside of the field sanctioned by their religious leaders than is usually thought. The best reviews of France, even the most orthodox ones, express ideas which are new to them. The thought of their contemporary writers shows how much even the most conservative among them have imbibed and assimilated the new spirit. Most of their authors make no secret of their indebtedness to Paris and the same thing is true of their artists. They were under such masters as Cabanel, Jérôme, and other great teachers. Philippe Hébert was sent to that city by Mercier. Laliberté made a long stay there, and so have many of their painters. Every year the Academy of Quebec helps several musical students to go to Paris where thirty thousand artists create an æsthetic atmosphere that has no equal. Many have been put in touch with the philosophical, sociological, and religious ideas of the motherland.

Now that the voices so signally unfriendly to France have sunk "into stormless and painless silence," French Canadians forget the unsympathetic attitude of La Fontaine, Abbé Casgrain, the erratic statements of Crémazie,[124] the unmeasured and unintelligent charges of Sulte, and the un-

[123] *La Revue hebdomadaire*, November 10, 1923, p. 214.
[124] *Œuvres*, pp. 509, 511, 514.

fair and cruel onslaught of Sir Adolphe B. Routhier.[125] These utterances would have no weight now. Cultivated French Canadians understand better contemporary France and her problems, most of which are world problems. They discern more clearly the main traits of her civilisation. They will more and more acknowledge that her greatness has come from the uncommon diversity of intellect which has illuminated the French language, French religion, French science, French art, French laws, French industry, and French life. They will even do ampler justice to the deeper things of contemporary Catholicism in the land of Lacordaire. France has never exerted a greater influence upon French Canada than now, and its people have never had greater *affinités* for what the old land can give.

The expansion which we have sketched is only one phase of French Canadian life. The services which they rendered as explorers, as pacific conquerors of the wilderness, the help which they gave to Britons in really laying their hands upon British North America, their religious and philanthropic services in Western Canada, as well as in the United States, the action upon them of American life and American influence, the resumption of relations with the old home beyond the sea, their assimilation of French literature, French art, and French life, represent outward manifestations of an intense energy at home, showing itself also in the evolution of their agriculture, their industries, their commerce, their education, their artistic culture, their philanthropy backed by an intense religious fervour. Behind it all there is the manifestation as well as the development of intellectual forces which will tell more and more in French Canada.

[125] *A Travers l'Europe*, Vol. II, pp. 12, 24, 47, 48.

CHAPTER XIII

AGRICULTURAL EXPANSION

NOTHING has contributed more perhaps to prejudice Americans against the attractiveness of French Canada than the appearance of the flat country through which they travel to reach the city of Montreal. This territory is relatively cheerless, depressing even though the farms have a rich soil which long seemed inexhaustible. On both banks of the St. Lawrence there are most attractive, fertile fields, where the early French settled and made their homes. The farms are contiguous, the houses and outbuildings near each other, and here and there is found a village whose central point of interest is the church, surrounded by the priest's residence, convents, schools, and dwellings some of which are spacious and elegant. Viewed from the river, they are extremely beautiful and picturesque. Many of the early travellers, doubtless seeing all this from boats, have spoken of them as if they had been in the presence of a continuous village, from Montreal to Quebec.[1]

The descent on the St. Lawrence is most attractive. The Laurentian Mountains are so beautiful that they baffle description, and no writer will successfully attempt it after reading Buies' fascinating narratives.[2] The plain below Quebec, seen from Ste. Anne-de-la-Pocatière, with its regularly divided farms, all well cultivated, and distant relief of the heights, is a striking spectacle. One can scarcely

[1] Rev. I. Fidler, p. 145; Talbot, Vol. I, p. 152; Francis Hall, p. 77; Weld, Vol. I, p. 336; Silliman, p. 113.

[2] *Le Saguenay et le Bassin du Lac Saint-Jean*, p. 293; *Récits de voyages*, p. 135.

remain unmoved at the sight of the Baie des Chaleurs and the romantic beauty of the coast of the Gaspésie. Where is finer scenery than that of the left bank of the St. Lawrence—St. Joachim, Murray Bay, the majestic Saguenay, and Lake St. Jean? What country is richer than the district of the Beauce in romantic lakes and impressive waterfalls, giving the traveller unspeakable delight? Where is one more awestruck than by *La grande Décharge* of Lake St. Jean "through whose rocky channel the waters of a wilderness, poured by forty rivers into a long flat lake, rush with incredible fierceness toward the sea?" [3] A view from Belœil Mountain, surrounded by systematically arranged farms in sight of the Richelieu, takes hold on one's sense of beauty. In *La Terre à vol d'oiseau,* Onésime Reclus, an eminent French geographer, exclaims *"Le Canada est un des plus beaux pays du monde."*

Even during the winter another kind of beauty shows itself upon the face of nature, but then it is associated, in the national mind, with domestic pleasures, family festivities, and the charms of social life. No country has its nomenclature so felicitously drawn from the soul of its history. "The French," says Mr. James G. A. Creighton, "knew how to name a country. In point of beauty and significance, their names are unequalled; and they not only described the land as do the Indians—they literally christened it. Even when it comes to perpetuating the memories of men, what a sonorous ring there is about Champlain, Sorel, Chambly, Varennes, Contrecœur, Longueuil, and Beauharnois, unapproachable by English analogues." [4] Equally expressive phases of their religious life is the designation of their communities. Nearly fifty parishes have the name of Ste. Anne.[5] These names

[3] T. M. Longstreet, *The Laurentians,* p. 273.
[4] *Picturesque Canada,* p. 68.
[5] Hopkins, *French Canada,* p. 235.

associate the birthplace of the natives with mystical and poetic interest. The fine designs of Henri Julien, *Retour de la Messe, and course sur la glace* are aglow with the happiness of these people.[6]

Those who have seen the French Canadian at home are impressed by his attachment not only to his land but to the land. While the farmers of Ontario own only 82 per cent of the cultivated soil of their province, he possesses 92 per cent.[7] He has this atavistic trait from the Picards and the Normans, a trait which has been a great force in his survival. He has the strength and independence of the man who tills his own acres. He feels also attached to the community. As Gérin-Lajoie puts it: "The spirit of brotherhood exists nowhere in as touching a manner as in the French Canadian settlements distant from the cities." [8] As he has many children, work is a family affair. The labour problem is, in normal times, a very simple one for him, as he has inherited a peculiar aptitude for farm work which the new education has vivified. The ultimate cause of his superiority, in this realm, lies in the religious sense of the mothers who feel that their duty is to bring men into the world. When parents cannot provide farms for their sons they endeavour to establish them in colonising centres, and not infrequently the whole family which is the great pivotal unit of their life migrates there.

This does not militate against the fact that the population of Quebec is one of the most fixed on this continent. "At the present time," says J. C. Chapais, "two hundred and twenty-three families are known still to be living on the lands taken by their ancestors before 1700, living witnesses through five or six, seven, eight, nine, even ten generations, of the sturdiness of the first settlers who possessed themselves of the land of the new colony and held to it with all

[6] H. Julien, *Album*, pp. 194, 197.
[7] Moore, p. 154.
[8] *Jean Rivard*, p. 52.

their might."[9] In 1916, the number had reached 1,400.[10] The pride of a French Canadian is to bequeath a farm to each one of his sons. If one of them abandons farm life he generally regrets it. He often has before his eyes happiness which he enjoyed close to the good mother who, by example, preached the gospel of economy and contentment. He always thinks of his early home with imaginative warmth.

It is owing to these ethical traits that Quebec has undertaken one of the most successful works of colonisation, like that of France in North Africa, only simpler and more flourishing. Indeed, long before this, the people had scattered in many directions without pre-arrangement, according to their individual liking or family needs; but half a century ago a systematic exodus to new farm lands, directed by ecclesiastical leaders, was started. Contemporaneous with the height of emigration to the United States, the priest, Labelle—later on Bishop Labelle—led a movement to keep his countrymen in the province by founding more than forty parishes in the Gatineau, north of Ottawa, helping to sustain the colonists, the clergymen, and other religious workers there. Mercier gave him strong support, and both men imparted to colonisation and to agriculture a great impulse.[11]

The clergyman, Hébert, was leader of such a colony in the vicinity of Lake St. Jean.[12] The name of Hébertville recalls the services of this brave man of such a practical faith. There, twenty years ago, one could see eighteen double rows of farms with a population of 3,400 inhabitants. The priest, Boucher, founded a similar colony.[13] In a district which less than half a century ago was the forest

[9] *Canada and Its Provinces,* Vol. XVI, p. 509.
[10] *Au Canada,* p. 33.
[11] Langelier, Vol. I, p. 311.
[12] Buies, *Le Saguenay, et le Bassin du lac St. Jean,* p. 193.
[13] *Ibid.,* p. 191.

primeval there are now thirty flourishing communities, the finest farms of Canada some of which sell for as much as $20,000 and $50,000.[14] During this time more than 50,000 people have come to find in that district a prosperous and happy home. This marvel of colonisation has been wrought without the deceptions of land companies, the wild outbursts of gambling in real estate, and the claptrap of the opening of new countries almost everywhere. On its agricultural side it has meant a great development of farming. In its social life one finds a progressive spirit which differentiates this group from their countrymen in other parts of the province. Isolated from other nationalities they are intensely Gallic in their character, have a greater spirit of enterprise, of adaptability to modern life, though religiously very conservative. Among them are the Trappists of Mistassini, who there, as in their other establishments, have given fine object-lessons to the habitant.

The colonies along Lake Temiscaming are also a great success. In the Abitibi French Canadians have replaced the forests by very prosperous and hopeful communities. Recently they began to publish a weekly paper, *L'Abitibi.* One of the colonists wrote in 1917 "Remember that five years ago there were only a few men in this vast territory; now more than 6,000 settlers are scattered in our villages." In 1921 there were fourteen parishes and 14,900 inhabitants. The new colonists have to spend some time on their lots before they receive their deeds. In 1911, 1,467 such deeds were delivered, 1,912 during the ensuing year, and 1,951 in 1913. The province holds at the disposal of its people six or seven million acres of surveyed lands at a price ranging from twenty to sixty cents an acre.[15] A similar movement of colonisation is going on in the valley

[14] *Le Bien public,* July, 1919.
[15] *Canada and Its Provinces,* Vol. XV, p. 231.

of Metapedia and in the peninsula of Gaspé. All this is making a new French Canada.

The colonial department of the province is well managed. Some thirty-five agents are largely under the direction of the Rev. I. Caron, connected with the Ministry of Colonisation, Mines, and Fisheries. The administration bears in mind the fundamental needs of the colonists, religion, education and commerce, provided by the community. The representatives of the church and of the government agree together as to the place reserved for a church, and the site is given. Provisions are made for a future school, a parish organization, and a municipality.[16] One has a sense that these settlements have been planned with the utmost intelligence and developed with great care.

Literary and religious influences have benefitted agriculture.[17] Again and again the French Canadian with any degree of education, has heard Virgil's celebrated, *"O fortunatos nimium, sua si bona norint, Agricolas."* [18] As early as 1790 there existed the *Société d'agriculture en Canada* which published "Papers and Letters upon Agriculture Recommended to the Attention of Canadian Farmers." In 1839 J. F. Perrault gave the farmers of the province a fine practical study of agriculture.[19] This literature urges love of the life of the field. The short story, *La terre paternelle* of Patrice Lacombe, 1846, sets forth the misfortunes of Chauvin who leaves his farm where he had been happy, and after great misfortunes regains his former state of happiness when, thanks to one of his sons, he can return to his

[16] I. Caron, *Une de nos Régions de Colonisation,* p. 17. In various annuals are captivating appeals for the people to seek a home in newly opened lands, and in the review of Laval University, *Le Canada français,* there is an advertisement of lands. Two pages further there is another entitled "Colonization," which is represented as the great problem of the hour, published at the expense of two of the provincial ministries.

[17] *Canada and Its Provinces,* Vol. XV, p. 234.

[18] Oh! how happy are farmers, if they only knew it.

[19] *Traité d'agriculture adapté à l'usage du Bas-Canada.*

acres.[20] Six years later F. M. F. Ossaye published his little book, *Les Veillées canadiennes,* on agriculture. In *Jean Rivard,* by Gérin-Lajoie, we have the idealisation of the life of the young, energetic colonist. The influence of this book was intensified by the endorsement of religious leaders. The farmer is praised in the *Famille des Jacques,*[21] in *Aux Souvenirs Canadiens* of G. E. Marquis, in *Chez nos gens* of Judge Adjutor Rivard. The poet, Jules Tremblay, has embroidered the national philosophy of farming as the ideal life,[22] in fact, this has been the theme of almost all the conservative disciples of the Muses. There is something catching, a bucolic enthusiasm, in *Les Rapaillages* of Abbé Groulx, made up of eleven chapters of reminiscences, a poetic homage to the life of the fields. Long ago Cartier stated, "If we would assure our national existence we must stick to the soil . . . attachment to the soil is the secret of the future greatness of French Canadians . . . the race which will triumph in the future will be that which has held to the soil." [23] The great slogan is "Return to the plough."

The Quebec National League of Colonization gives a corporate form to this spirit which so encourages the men who wrest from nature our daily bread. This sentiment led Quebeckers to honour with a statue in their oldest city, Hébert, the first farmer of Canada. The French Canadian was easily convinced that agriculture is the best pursuit for him. Outside of his province, as he speaks English imperfectly, and is burdened with a name which sounds strange, he has ever been at a disadvantage. Boucher or Boulanger has a very foreign sound in Western Canada or in the United States, while Patrick Magee or Mike O'Donell has not. The latter may more readily win political

[20] J. Huston, *Le Repertoire national,* Vol. III, p. 357.
[21] Lareau, *Mélanges historiques et littéraires,* p. 147.
[22] *Des Mots, des vers. Les Ferments.*
[23] Boyd, p. 350.

favours. The French Canadian succeeds better in the rural districts than in cities. He does not spare labour, and is served by professional aptitudes and by his family. On a farm he may have a home which is the realisation of his deepest longings. Speaking of French Canadians, J. A. Hobson says, "Home still means more for them than for any of the other races that have settled in Canada; if they break away, it is generally to return." [24]

It is entirely different with Anglo-Canadians. Their sons and daughters have an education which, according to Goldwin Smith, "breeds distaste for farm work." [25] Their "blood has not the flavour of the soil in it." They wish to be freed from what they consider their narrow home life. They have no professional or poetic attachment to the farm. Commerce and industry are for them stepping-stones to wealth and to the pleasures of city life. A large number of them have thus detached themselves from farming, especially in the West, while some of the farmers have so worked their fields that after a few years they become exhausted. The doubtful generalisations of Durham about the Anglo-Canadians "who took the very farm which the Canadian settler abandoned, and by superior management made that a source of profit which had only impoverished his predecessor" [26] has certainly been reversed. As Anglo-Canadians abandon their fields French Canadians step in. This has happened in the eastern counties of Athabaska, Brome, Compton, Drummond, Megantic, Missisquoi, Richmond, Shefford, Sherbrooke, Stanstead, and Wolfe.[27] It is also the case with Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta, not to mention northern New England. Mgr. Beliveau, archbishop of St. Boniface, said that in eighteen months his countrymen had bought 30,000 acres from Eng-

[24] *Canada To-Day*, p. 63.
[25] *Canada and the Canadian Question*, p. 31.
[26] Report, p. 22.
[27] Magnan, p. 161.

lish speaking farmers in his diocese. By this natural process, free from the designs ascribed to their religious leaders by Protestants,[28] they are making the conquest of the land.

The Quebec Government has gone far in helping them to face the problem of transportation and to build roads. Out of 35,651 miles 45 per cent have been improved in various ways. In twenty years the province has spent $30,000,000 for that object, and the railroads have increased their mileage from 3,841 to 5,266. River and canal navigation, the telegraph, the postal service, ever improving and increasing in service, have been valuable helps. The parochial schools are imparting to the future farmers the elements of agriculture and what pertains thereto, though this may awaken only a kind of poetic interest in their occupation and surroundings. Anything which leads to progress in this domain is encouraged by the government as well as by educators. Through this change in his environment the French Canadian has moved onward in the intelligent exploitation of the soil and the profitable disposal of his produce. The schools in many ways contribute indirectly to general progress. Thus, for instance, some time ago, they co-operated with state officers in securing accurate reports from farmers.[29] Several orders make an important contribution to the movement. The Friars of our Lady of the Fields have an orphanage which trains the young for agricultural life, and so do the Brothers of St. Francis.[30]

The province has now three important schools of agriculture where stress is laid upon the practical aspects of the subject without being indifferent to the cultural side. That of Oka, at the Lake of the Two Mountains, is due pre-emi-

[28] G. Smith, *Canada and the Canadian Question*, p. 21.
[29] *L'Enseignement primaire*, June, 1917.
[30] *Le Canada ecclésiastique*, 1918, p. 429.

nently to the generosity of the Sulpicians who, most liberally, gave the Trappists a vast estate, a large part of which has been cleared and cultivated. They have a sawmill, a flouring mill, shops for carpenters, a large maple orchard, and keep a summer hotel in which modern comfort contrasts with the austere habits and life of the monks.[31] Their establishments of Mistassini, not to speak of St. Norbert, in Manitoba, are practical inspirations for French Canadian farmers. They raise the best of produce, and they know how to send it to market in a most attractive form. Their school has not only substantial courses, the purpose of which is to make progressive, intelligent farmers, but it also confers various degrees in agriculture.[32]

Ste. Anne-de-la Pocatière first entered this field. It has an admirable school, well equipped, directed by professors from the secular clergy as well as by laymen. The intimate relations existing between this institution and the college is of great moment as bringing a force of cultural intelligence into agricultural education. This noble secondary school has been a nursery of some of the most efficient men of the country, including the present lieutenant-governor, Sir Charles Fitzpatrick. The Macdonald School, at Ste. Anne-de-Bellevue, connected with McGill University, is a model institution and perhaps one of the best equipped in the world. It is largely attended by Anglo-Canadians, but its very superior scientific work radiates widely, and, from the nature of the case, is bound to deepen the theoretical and practical aspects of all the agricultural studies of the province.

The Hon. J. Edouard Caron, minister of agriculture, has control over all the regular agencies in this field. He is a man of sterling worth, untiring in his intelligent efforts, trained by experience as a farmer, of an extensive knowl-

[31] Ernest Robert, *Voyages au Canada-français*, p. 108.
[32] *Annuaire de l'Université Laval*, 1917-1918, p. 411.

edge, though self-taught, resourceful and untiring in his efforts to solve the great agricultural problems of the province. His task is the supervision of everything connected with agriculture. He has the co-operation of the Council of Agriculture made up of himself, of the deputy minister, the superintendent of public instruction, and twenty-one farmers and other persons of note versed in agriculture, appointed by the lieutenant-governor in Council. This body is a sort of Moral Senate of Agriculture, greatly strengthening the hands of the minister. Besides, there are two general inspectors surveying the whole territory which is divided into five districts. At the head of each of them is a sub-inspector whose territory is divided into ten parts, each having a government agent. In all there are fifty inspectors, five subgeneral inspectors, and two general inspectors. We must remember that this administration is for a country nearly three times the size of France, fourteen times the acreage of England, and more than sixty-two times that of Belgium.

The report of the minister for 1918 is a revelation of his activity in every practical interest that touches farming. He has his fingers upon the agricultural keyboard of schools, from that of the simplest parish in a poor community to the forestry school of Laval. Co-operation and movement forward seem his indefatigable aim. The McGill agricultural college draws students even from British Columbia, three thousand miles away.[33] In all these schools a variety of problems are studied with results astounding for the uninitiated, such as the acclimation of fruit trees, tests of food values for animals, the making of a new breed of hens, studies of fertilisers, Pasteurisation, many questions of dairying, the work of the provincial laboratory of St. Hyacinthe, rural architecture, agricultural mechanics, milking machines, landscape gardening, preservation of fruits and

[33] Joseph Adams, *Ten Thousand Miles Through Canada*, p. 24.

vegetables, the curing of bacon, etc. Ste. Anne-de-Bellevue has the largest part in this, and both nationalities are benefitted.

Government co-operation is on the increase. As he was about to retire Sir Lomer Gouin added $5,000,000 to the budget, since then increased to $7,000,000. Minister Caron speaks of establishing twenty experimental farms. Premier Taschereau in 1920 proposed to open twenty agricultural academies which would be feeders to the already existing agricultural institutions. The students attending the Oka School or that of Ste. Anne-de-la Pocatière are offered small scholarships. The government represents a moderate intelligent paternalism, free from official compulsion. Its agents work by means of lectures and circulation of literature, and send out a remarkably well-edited agricultural paper, in both languages, free to all members of agricultural societies. Eggs have been given to pupils in the schools to interest them in poultry raising. Beehives have been presented to groups of interested persons. There are school exhibits, many demonstrations, and lectures for farmers. The Oka School offers short courses of three weeks; among others there is one upon horticulture and one upon fruit trees for farmers at large.[34] The school of Ste. Anne-de-la Pocatière had an attendance of 100 farmers at such a session in 1917. There are also "agricultural weeks" when a group of professors lecture in two places, not far apart, to two sets of farmers and sometimes to more. All this is done with a great sanity of practical purpose.

The government, which has so well husbanded the forest resources of the province, has made praiseworthy and successful efforts at reforestation. It has established a very fine nursery of saplings and trees at Berthierville, and has done a great deal to encourage plantations in districts which threatened to be overwhelmed by sand-dunes. There are

[34] *Almanach du peuple*, 1914, p. 191.

places where farms have been submerged by the sand, with the result that formerly fertile fields are converted into a desert. In order to remedy this evil the government will sell pine saplings for a nominal price and in addition send their expert forester free of charge to superintend the planting of trees in these barren districts. The gentleman who called our attention to this work said that when his property was so threatened, he purchased 10,000 pine-trees which absolutely protected his farm from further invasion, and instead of a wilderness there is now a beautiful pine-grove on the spot.

Woman has not been neglected in this great work of the province. There are at present fifty-three schools of domestic science, or, to speak more modestly, institutions training young girls for efficiency in their homes, which will be mostly those of farmers. To them especially one may look for horticulture. The best gardens of the world are those where women have the greatest participation in their management. There are twenty-eight provincial stations for the culture of small fruit, twenty-three demonstration fields, and six orchards provided by the state, while twenty-five horticultural societies help the cause of gardening. Fifteen clubs of farmers' wives, and a club made up of the former pupils of Roberval, indicate the growth of a new life.[35] Associations and co-operation are growing with leaps and bounds. The Co-operative Society of Cheese Makers, with which are affiliated nearly one hundred local organisations and five hundred cheese- and butter-making establishments, has nearly 5,000 members, with an annual business not far from $5,000,000. There is also the Co-operative Society of Seed Growers with forty-five affiliated organisations. Apart from these especial groupings there are, in the province, about two hundred and fifty agricultural societies. The Experimental Union of Quebec, started

[35] *L'Enseignement primaire,* 1916, p. 337.

by the Trappists at Oka, is strictly. as its title indicates, devoted to tests and experiments.

There are many farmers who are looking to themselves for improvements, and their efforts have met with deserved success, but in many new departures the government has taken the initiative. The development of apiculture has been the result of the acts of state employees. This service has a superintendent, an assistant, and twelve inspectors of hives as well as two clerks. These agents visit all the honey growers in their district, inspect their hives, and make practical suggestions. As many as 48,000 hives were examined in one year. In nine summers these hives increased from 45,000 to 62,000. In eight years the yield rose from 1,512,000 pounds to 2,952,000 pounds and the value from $280,248 to $1,647,471.[36] Clubs of women have entered this field with great zest. In Roberval, that wonderful colony already referred to, the Sisters, with twenty-one hives in the spring, and twenty-five in the autumn, produced in one year 4,225 pounds of honey. It is not rare to find among these Canadians farmers who, with their bees, made from one to two thousand dollars a year. There may be more than one who averages, yearly, from five to six thousand dollars.

The Association of Maple Sugar Producers, though working for their own interests, does a most patriotic work. They first attempt to increase the production of this article of food, to improve its quality, and to distribute it profitably in every part of the globe. The exportations are chiefly to the United States, to England, and to France.[37] Sugar-makers improve methods and perfect tools. There are three sugar-farm schools, where young sugar-makers may receive the best practical instruction. Several agents give demonstrations, thereby helping the sugar producers. These same

[36] Statistical Bureau of the Province of Quebec, 1921, *Letter.*
[37] *Almanach du peuple,* 1917, p. 259.

agents also visit farmers while they are doing their work. A consequence of this is that the produce, in some localities formerly unmarketable, has come to be of a much better grade, creating a greater demand. To protect the public and themselves, an association was organised in Waterloo for the prevention of fraud and the perfecting of this sweet harvest.[38] The possibilities for a vastly increased production are boundless. In 1911, according to E. T. D. Chambers of Quebec, the yield was 9,989,443 pounds and 1,005,330 gallons of syrup, estimated at $1,680,393. The crop of 1919 gave 12,353,000 pounds of sugar and 1,470,275 gallons of syrup, the whole estimated at $6,396,535, and in 1920 the value of the crop was appraised at $7,000,000, or an equivalent of 30,000,000 pounds in the shape of sugar and syrup.[39]

Foreign travellers of the olden time laid stress upon the small size of the domestic animals of French Canada. Joseph Sansom of Philadelphia called the attention of his driver to the small horses of the province as compared with those of his country. The peasant answered, *"Les nôtres sont petits, petits. Nous les faisons aller—à toutes jambes."* [40] Professor Silliman speaks of small carts "drawn by horses of diminutive size." [41] In 1824 Talbot comments upon the small horses, "but the most serviceable animals in the world," [42] and the sheep, "the most miserable-looking animals imaginable." [43] A little later the Rev. Isaac Fidler makes a similar assertion.[44] For a "Scottish Traveller," in 1833, everything is small.[45] To-day French Canada is provided with fine breeds of animals of all kinds. They have imported some of the finest specimens from

[38] *Almanach du peuple*, 1914, p. 191.
[39] *Letter*, March 7, 1921.
[40] *Sketches of Lower Canada*, p. 192.
[41] *Remarks Made on a Short Tour Between Hartford and Quebec*, p. 192.
[42] *Five Years' Residence in the Canadas*, Vol. I, p. 176.
[43] *Ibid.*, p. 179.
[44] *Observations . . . in the United States and Canada*, p. 202.
[45] *Present State of the Canadas*, p. 90.

Europe; and one finds everywhere superior horses, whether one looks at the imported breeds, or at the improved native horses. This, as a whole, is true of the other animals.

According to Professor Arnould, formerly one could have applied to their condition the formula, *Le Canadien est défricheur*[46] *et le Français est cultivateur.*[47] It is certainly so no longer. There has been a signal evolution. Farming is becoming more rational, less a matter of routine and impulse, but more varied; in keeping with the potential capacity of the soil, labour resources, and market demands. It has in a certain way become specialised to milk, cheese, butter-making, horse and cattle breeding, apiculture, seed growing, truck farming, fruit production, grain, and hay. With this has come a good equipment of stock and tools, ploughs and tractors, harrows and rollers, sowers and mowing-machines, hay-loaders, horse pitch-forks, and the best machinery of contemporary agriculture. Of course, there is yet a large class untouched by this contemporary movement, but hardly less than a similar class in New Hampshire and Vermont. His agricultural fairs are numerous. In 1920, there were six local ones and four in important centres lasting from five to ten days.[48] These fairs have been sources of instruction, of practical hints, and indices of progress. In 1901 the province had 150,599 farmers; now there are no less than 175,000. From 1911 to 1920 the value of the cattle rose from $94,926,000 to $206,814,000 and that of butter and cheese from $15,650,000 to $37,000,000. During the five-year period, 1908-12, the average year crop was valued at $84,732,000 but in 1920 at $330,000,000.

To the great poverty of half a century ago has succeeded a financial well-being never dreamed of. The average

[46] A land clearer.
[47] *Nos Amis les Canadiens*, p. 276.
[48] *Le Journal de l'agriculture*, June, 1920, p. 277.

wealth of the Quebec farmer is probably greater than that of the tiller of the soil in the New England states. In a parish half-way between St. Jean and Montreal several trustworthy persons estimated the wealth of the average farmer at from six to seven thousand dollars; in the vicinity of Rimouski reports were about the same, and in two parishes near Roberval the valuation was from eleven to twelve thousand dollars. With this has come a freer use of money, telling upon the appearance of the home and dress of the farmer. The housekeeper has changed also. She is much better educated. The old spinning-wheel has largely disappeared, but she remains thrifty. The man has been broadened by the general life. He has ceased to confine his energy to the following of the plough and the wielding of the flail. Here again, while recognising the great Anglo-Canadian impulses that have affected him, we must assert that the greatest change in the situation is in the man within. He is more fit to fight the naked realities of life.

CHAPTER XIV

INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL DEVELOPMENT

IN all questions affecting the French Canadian one must bear in mind his early tragic history, the elimination of his best men during long wars, and that of the leading classes at the Cession. One must remember the hardships of the *ancien régime*, so repressive of all initiative, his isolation, which long had its dangers from the Indians, and the depressing influence of his superiors who acted in keeping with the spirit of the times. It is important to recall his idealistic spirit, his conceptions of national worth, his sense of the value of his language, of his laws, and of his faith which he prized above all else. In the early days in rural districts he was known as *hivernant* or as *habitant*. Some maintain that the former, during the winter, returned to France, which is very improbable, or wintered in Quebec or Montreal.[1] This would be in keeping with a practice yet common in the provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan. The settler resides on his concession, but after the disposal of his crops he spends the winter in neighbouring communities. It is quite probable that *habitant* is the survival and extension of a term used, then, in various provinces of France and in the colonies.[2]

We must also recall that, until the beginning of the nineteenth century, farmers in North America did not aim at wealth acquisition, but to have a certain well-being on their farms upon which they reared large families. They

[1] R. P. Duclos, p. 19; Willson Beckles, *Quebec: the Laurentian Province*, p. 12.

[2] *Le Canada français*, November 18, p. 217; December, 1918, pp. 273, 276.

lived a simple life, but with little of the economic ambition which now makes their successors restless. In Canada, as in the American colonies, they produced nearly all that was required for their home. In New France, as in New England, once in a while, they would make a load of their lighter produce, take it to the distant market, and bring home indispensables or a little money. In Canada, as in Vermont and New Hampshire, as John Palmer puts it, "you pass few houses without hearing the hum of the spinning-wheel." [3] They wove the material used to make their clothes, and in a general way, on the economic side, the situation of the two peoples was a good deal alike, only the New England population had more education. The pastors were as authoritative as the priests, but they admitted more mental freedom, and many of them accepted the ideal of human progress. The religious and moral stand of both countries was high.

The former life of the French Canadian—the rural life still does—created, and still creates, in him a certain general adroitness, a general aptitude for many forms of work, a natural skill, and the ability to set his hand to anything for his various needs. A Swiss lady, residing in Canada and ever impressed with this striking characteristic, frequently exclaimed, "The Canadian can do anything." However, he was long kept in his helpless environment. His supreme resource, as a release from his poverty, was to take to the ax. "A French Canadian," says Dr. Ami, "will accomplish as much with an ax as a man of any other race with a full outfit of tools." [4] "He is America's best axman," says Dr. Moore.[5] Nearly twenty years ago Laurier estimated their number at 40,000.[6] There are now about 23,000 in Quebec

[3] *Journal of Travels in the United States and in Lower Canada in 1817*, p. 200.
[4] Henry M. Ami, *Canada and Newfoundland*, p. 334.
[5] *The Clash*, p. 157.
[6] *Discours*, p. 56.

and at least 50,000 in the Dominion.[7] It might be added that almost every farmer makes a sport of swinging the ax. With less sociological fixity and more education he would have used his gifts more widely as thirty years ago he did in the United States where we find him a barber, a baker, a master-builder, a blacksmith, a carpenter, a mason, a pharmacist, a jeweller, a machinist, and occasionally a lawyer, a notary, and a doctor.[8]

Under the French régime there was, as we have said, a fixed social stratification, an imperfect realisation of the ideas of Fénelon, in his *Salente,* the habitants, the seigniors, and the clergy. Most of the liberal professions of to-day did not exist. There were no advocates except the King's lawyers.[9] All the judges, even, were not bred to the law. There were attorneys and notaries; the latter needed scarcely any study at all.[10] Some were itinerant.[11] Physicians were few and generally trained in France, and some, like the Irishman, Timothy Sullivan, got a medical degree by royal favour.[12] The mass of the population was absorbed by agriculture and but few were common labourers.[13] A large number of the immigrants with trades had to give them up, as they were not needed in the colony, or they were carried on in ways so different from those of the people that they created no demand. In the rural parts trades and professions were and still are few. Now professions and trades are increasing. There is a growing number of banking agents, of local correspondents of newspapers, and agents of all kinds for agricultural and commercial interests; in fact, a new life.

Long bound to the soil by the nature of their grant they

[7] *Bureau des statistiques.* Letter.
[8] E. Hamon, *Les Canadiens de la Nouvelle Angleterre,* pp. 457, 459.
[9] Cavendish, p. 109.
[10] Gosselin, *L'Instruction au Canada sous le régime français,* p. 385.
[11] De Gaspé, *Les anciens Canadiens,* pp. 268, 275.
[12] P. G. Roy, *Le Bulletin des recherches historiques,* October, 1917, p. 303.
[13] Durham, p. 22.

could only emancipate themselves by becoming bushmen, raftsmen, or voyageurs, but now they are more prosperous as farmers, and if they wish to leave the plough, they find many avenues open to them. French Canadian society has lost its former rigidity. In a barber shop of Montreal—this is true of many tonsorial establishments in Canada—the seven barbers were all sons of farmers. The children of these barbers attend the best available schools, and when their education is completed, they will become clerks, bookkeepers, dentists, doctors, government employees of some kind. Some may even get higher. The barber shop, for these men, has been one of the many stepping-stones to higher things like teaching, public functions, the telegraph, the telephone, stenography, etc. The new education shows young people easy ways to emerge from the stereotyped life of half a century ago, and it has made that life pleasanter and more profitable.

This virtual class and professional differentiation has been even more rapid in the cities; in fact, there it has kept pace with that of the English. Imperfect as are generalisations from city directories, it is certain that they point to an increasingly large professional distribution. Take the name of *Amyot* in the directories of Quebec and Montreal. In the first city there are twenty-seven who bear the name. Among these are four unmarried women and widows without profession, twenty-two names represent all kinds of occupations from that of member of the Legislative Council, of *rentier*, called in English directories "gentlemen," to that of commercial traveller and painter. In Montreal we find twenty-eight of this name; six are unprofessional women, five are day labourers, and nineteen have various professions: barbers, electricians, shippers, decorators, etc. In Quebec there are thirteen named *Anctil*. One is a widow and twelve are men of various callings: clerks, pilots, tailors, joiners, and merchants. In Montreal there are only

seven persons of that name, with the trades of machinist, chauffeur, shoemaker, etc.

The name *Auger, in* Quebec, is represented by forty-five persons; two are those of unprofessional women, three day labourers, and of forty others there are three carpenters, six machinists, three bookkeepers, a clergyman, an architect, etc. In Montreal there are ninety-nine who bear the name; six are unprofessional women. Ninety-three have various occupations: blacksmith, boiler-maker, collector, organist, detective, machinist, agent, professor, etc. These facts, and many like them, point to a professional differentiation, one might say professional evolution, among French Canadians of the two cities. This is true also of towns. One cannot overlook the fact that Anglo-Canadians have contributed much to this change, as the province of Quebec occupies second place in the Dominion in reference to the number of industries, of establishments, and aggregate production.[14] The native has played an increasingly important part in many directions. His genius is more statical than dynamic, but it will increasingly be both. His high degree of morality and his good, orderly spirit, as well as some of his æsthetical traits, will more and more open new industrial and commercial avenues to him.

Dr. Moore says that the French Canadian "has proved himself an industrious, capable, quick-handed artisan, and in a number of industries—the boot and the shoe industry, for example—has more than held his own in ownership, management, and workmanship." [15] The natural good taste of this population must eventually tell upon some of their industries. The making of fine clothing upon a large scale is something to be looked for. The Dominion Corset Company, which, notwithstanding its name, is thoroughly French, is an important departure in that direction.

[14] *Statistical Year-Book of Quebec,* 1922, p. 385.
[15] *The Clash,* p. 88.

Founded in 1886 by a Parisian, it soon became the property of the Hon. George E. Aymot. It is the largest factory of the kind in the British Empire, making most of the material which it uses, preparing its own steel for its corsets, and embodying the finest French elegance in its work. It employs from 1,800 to 2,000 persons, almost all French Canadians, and its business amounts to several million dollars a year. It has agents in the principal cities of the Dominion from Halifax to Vancouver. It has a large market in Australia, New Zealand, South America, and England. M. Amyot, well known for his religious and philanthropic interests, is a member of the Legislative Council.

It was a French Canadian who built at Hochelaga the first cotton mill of Canada. The making of church organs in St. Hyacinthe is gaining a great reputation for the high grade and fineness of work. The Casavant Frères have built organs for the Ottawa, the Toronto, the Halifax, the McGill conservatories of music; for the Convocation Hall of the University of Toronto, for MacDonald College, for Northwestern University, for the Toronto Regent Theatre, for the Opera House of Boston, for several American synagogues, for some of the largest Anglican churches, for the most important Presbyterian churches including that of the Eaton Memorial—with 4 manuals, 89 stops, 138 couplers and 227 registers—not to mention those of a dozen Roman Catholic cathedrals. Recently they received an order from Paris for an organ with 3 manuals, 40 stops, and over 3,000 pipes.[16]

The hat factory established by Edmond Guillette, at Marieville, has taken an extensive development with prospects of a much larger growth. With this has come a great transformation and modernisation of the municipality. Among other most successful enterprises is the tool factory of William Bullock, at Roxton Pond, a thoroughly French

[16] *Industrial Canada*, March, 1922.

Canadian institution, which is more and more furnishing a large proportion of the tools used in the country. The Maison Legaré of Quebec has a carriage factory employing some three hundred operatives, and one making agricultural implements. We merely mention the oldest smelting furnaces of Canada, the St. Maurice Forges. Road rollers are made at Montmagny, crushers at Sherbrooke, and road ploughs at Plessisville, Megantic.[17] St. Hyacinthe is taking rapid strides forward. The town of Rivière du Loup is becoming an important manufacturing centre with pulp and furniture mills.[18]

The Caron Brothers of Montreal have gradually created in that city a most amazing manufacture of jewels and metallic ornaments. They have extended their work to almost all varieties of jewellery, including the finest and the cheapest. During the war, when they employed 4,500 persons, they executed large contracts with the American Government and are even exporting some of their work to France. They began by making devotional medals, and gradually rose to fine metallic art, coining Laliberté's medals: the "Council of Arts and Manufactures," the "Two Hundred and Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Founding of Montreal," and "Sir Charles Fitzpatrick," so creditable to all concerned. Their jewellery displays the most artistic skill and their work reveals a high stand in the realm of decorative arts. No less interesting is the Librairie Beauchemin, a publishing house of French books, which not only furnishes French Canadian and French publications to the people at home, and exports its own editions to the United States, to South America, and to Haiti, but even sells some of its textbooks to educational houses in France. It is not irrelevant at this point to mention that some French Canadians have brought to Canada industries in

[17] Willson, *Quebec: the Laurentian Province*, p. 215.
[18] *Ibid.*, p. 249.

which they have been successful in New England, such as the Dominion Blank Book Company, in St. Jean, established by Mr. George A. Savoy of Holyoke, Massachusetts.

Americans have imported into French Canada the pulp-making industry,[19] but in this they have been joined by the sons of the soil. In 1916 there were 23 companies making 686,604 tons a year.[20] One of the largest producers is J. E. A. Dubuc. At one time he formed a merger of paper-mills, known as the North American Pulp and Paper Companies, with a capital of $30,000,000.[21] He is a great personal force, and the soul of the Pulp and Water Powers Company which controls the stock of five important firms. The Chicoutimi Pulp Company is the greatest pulp-making concern in the world. Its three mills turn out 620 tons of pulp daily and the hope is entertained of bringing the future production to 130,000 tons a year. Its water-power is susceptible of great development and so are other important industrial factors.

M. Dubuc is a leader of men. All his employees are French Canadians whose welfare he has at heart. One finds among them a peculiar combination of the most conservative spirit with the most modern. Their French is uncommonly good. The Eudist Fathers are to be thanked for much of this, as well as for the intense religious spirit of the locality. There is among them a certain thoughtfulness, a spirit of progress which permeates all forms of local activities. Buies says that they have *"un esprit d'enterprise formidable."* [22] The pulp-making industry has been foremost in the life of the city. What strikes many a visitor to these mills is that French Canadians have improved their machines and invented new ones now used by other pulp companies. This has been done by men having no other training than that

[19] Bradley, *Canada in the Twentieth Century*, p. 87.
[20] *Statistical Year-Book*, 1917, p. 263.
[21] R. Lemieux, *Une industrie, une région, un homme*, p. 5.
[22] *Le Saguenay et le Bassin du Lac St. Jean*, p. 165.

of local schools and the inspiration of the great works and their uncommon chiefs.

French Canadians have not only taken an important place in the production of the essentials for newspaper making, but have, for some time, made a paper of great beauty. The firm which has won such success in this realm belongs to the Rolland family whom students of former times remember as the great French book dealers of Montreal. They built their first mill at St. Jérôme, in 1882, where they found a good water-power and priceless pure water for the making of all-rag paper. Thirty years later they bought the Northern Mills Company of Mont Rolland, making a complete line of bond, writing, and ledger papers. Several mills were built for the making of a more extensive variety of high-grade production. A friend writes to us: "It is necessary to give orders a long time in advance to be served, as they cannot produce enough to meet the demand." In several exhibitions their exceptional work has had a well-deserved recognition. In 1885 they obtained the Gold Medal at Antwerp; in 1893 they secured the highest award in Chicago; and, in 1900, the *Grand Prix* in Paris. We have given only a few indices of the industrial life which is growing in French Canada.

The success of their pulp and paper-making works, viewed in the light of the limiltess resources of French Canadian forests, their amazing water-powers, and their sane and intelligent use of them, open before us the view of an almost endless industrial and commercial expansion. Having, as we shall see, given such an impulse to all forms of education, they now talk of a popular school of forestry, and one of paper-making. The government long ago, under Sir Lomer Gouin, began to solve the problem of the use of the great water-powers of the province, and thereby to free the country from its dependence upon the United States for power in the form of coal. As it takes twelve tons to de-

velop the energy of one horse-power, the government saw early what a transformation of the economic life of Quebec could be wrought by entering into this work. The *Water Powers of the Province of Quebec,* by Mr. Arthur Amos, chief engineer of the hydraulic service, the *Report of the Quebec Streams Commission,* and *Le Gouvernement Taschereau* show us how systematically and scientifically the authorities have proceeded, drawn practical conclusions, and efficiently carried them out. They had not only to develop power, to create a steady flow, to prevent floods in the adjacent lands, to float timber, but to produce hydraulic energy at the lowest cost and this for the good of all.

On the St. Lawrence and other large rivers turbines transfer power directly or by hydro-electric plants. Some of the establishments have a dignity and beauty of appearance. Along the St. Maurice River a new industrial life has been created which has brought conspicuous progress to the villages and towns, and this is true also of many other parts of the province. The government, respecting acquired rights, has made efforts to keep these sources of wealth the property of the people. The constant aim has been to help industry. Among other noteworthy works is the Gouin Dam, at La Loutre, storing 160,000,000,000 cubic feet of water, which is released to meet the needs of the water companies below. It is larger than the Assuan Dam in Egypt, which has a storage capacity of 82,000,000,000 cubic feet. La Loutre has therefore the largest reservoir in the world built for industrial purposes. The Taschereau Government succeeded in making an agreement with capitalists to develop 1,000,000 horse-power at *La Grande Décharge du Lac St. Jean,* and decided to spend $20,000,000 for that purpose. Other undeveloped water-powers are being studied, and practical designs to harness them to the service of the industry of the country are in sight. French Canadians have entered this field in earnest. With cheap

wood, easily floated to mills, with good steady labour, and with steamers coming close to some of their works, they can advantageously take their place in the economic life of the world. In all these endeavours Anglo-Canadians have a large share; just as in their own works they largely depend upon native workers.

French Canadians have also taken an important part in the commerce of the country. A little over forty years ago Théophile Legaré started a business which, twenty years later, he transformed into a stock company, made up of his most faithful employees. In reality, thanks to his large spirit, the principal men became the virtual owners of the firm which has assumed great importance. Its commerce is many-sided and the motto of the house is "Everything for the farm and the home." It does now a business of some $5,000,000 a year and has $3,000,000 invested in its various enterprises. It has 25 branches, 1,050 local agencies, 43 commercial travellers, 175 clerks in its offices in Quebec, and employs 1,800 persons.

The success of the Maison Paquet only lacks a great writer to do it justice. The lad Z. Paquet left his home in the country, at the age of fourteen, to go to Quebec to earn some money to help his parents. He began selling the milk of one or more cows that he managed to own. He was so poor that he could not afford to have a horse for his milk cart—it was drawn by a dog. Later on he was helped by a wife of similar spirit. She kept a little candy and toy shop, while he continued his own increasing business. When his herd had reached the number of forty cows he sold them and put his money into the little store. Business increased rapidly until it became known as *Les Grands Magasins Paquet*. At first most of the trade was in British hands, so that in order to succeed he had to face the greatest competition, but he carried the day. He devoted himself to fancy goods, and soon was known as an admirable

buyer and brilliant seller. He had to rise above great obstacles, but he moved onward, sustained by his indomitable energy and by the inspiration of success. He introduced profit-sharing, now enjoyed by his 700 employees. He trained in his store many an uncommon business man. What is more remarkable is that M. Paquet never knew how to read and write.

This commercial progress of French Canadians is visible in many directions. The four largest grocery establishments of the Dominion are owned by them.[23] They have the preponderance in the pharmaceutic trade of the province. They have created most successful insurance companies, such as the British Colonial Fire Insurance by Theodore Meunier. This is the only Canadian fire insurance company having its head office in Quebec. J. E. Clement organised the Mount Royal Assurance Company. Both of these have been unusually prosperous. In the matter of banking they have covered the province with annexes and branches and have opened new possibilities of enterprise in rural districts. While deposits in the West since 1918 have decreased, in the province of Quebec it has been the opposite. It is stated by reliable authorities that the citizens of Quebec city have $25,000,000 or $30,000,000 deposited in their banking institutions.

French Canadians have done much to increase the commerce between France and Canada. Senator C. P. Beaubien was the father of the idea of having a train, *France Canada,* constituting a travelling exhibition of products of France for Canada, a train which, during three months in 1921, visited cities of the Dominion, and then its contents were housed in the Montreal School of Superior Commercial Studies. The stops of the train were accompanied by important conferences with boards of trade, banquets and illustrated lectures setting forth what Canadians could buy

[23] C. E. Holmes, *Meeting the French Canadians Half-Way,* p. 11.

in France. Senator Beaubien found much support from the Right Hon. William Mackenzie Lyon King, the Hon. Raoul Dandurand, the Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux and other Canadian sympathisers, but he deserves the fullest credit for the project and its splendid execution. He prepared a similar travelling exhibition of Canadian products for the great cities of France, in 1923. As it was not practicable to use the railroads, the exhibits were placed in thirty large box-cars, with removable sides, drawn by motors. This *exposition-roulante* was inaugurated last November in the Gardens of the Tuileries by Premier Poincaré. The arrival of this new form of exposition in the leading cities of France was a notable event. Its organisers were helped by the government, the county councils, and the boards of trade. It excited the greatest popular unrest and enthusiasm. While these enterprises have been great commercial opportunities for the two peoples, one cannot exaggerate their educational importance.

Eminent French Canadians have entered into the councils of great corporations. What was exceptional when George d'Eschambault was associated member of the Hudson's Bay Company is common enough now. The Hon. Raoul Dandurand is a member of the Board of Directors of the Grand Trunk, President of the Montreal City and District Savings Bank, director of the Crédit Franco-Canadien, not to speak of other important positions in various associations or of his being in the Cabinet of Mackenzie King. His colleague, the Hon. Senator F. L. Béïque, so often entrusted with most important legal cases, pleaded repeatedly before the Privy Council of England, became a director of the Canadian Pacific, of the Hochelaga Bank, and also president of the Saguenay Pulp Company. Sir Hormidas Laporte, after a wide and varied service in many commercial and social organisations, became chairman of the Military Purchasing Commission of Canada during the war.

Equally significant is the fact that the Hon. J. D. Rolland of the Rolland Paper Company was at one time president of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association and that J. H. Fortier of the Maison Legaré of Quebec, is vice-president. Paul E. Joubert is president of the Quebec Division of this great association. The perusal of *Who's Who and Why* for Canada, 1917-1918, will be a revelation to many, as not far from one-tenth of the individuals mentioned are French Canadians. Owing to the irritation on both sides at the time of the war, in the 1919-1920 edition the number is very much reduced, but even then after close examination one reaches the conclusion that these Quebeckers are becoming important factors in the industrial and commercial life of the Dominion. This has been recognised by the Canadian Manufacturers' Association. They now publish a French section in their review, *Industrial Canada.* Also pointing in the same direction, the Canadian Pacific issues splendidly illustrated brochures in French in view of the increasing ocean travel of the French Canadians. Their commercial importance is now realised by many.

Considerable is done to better, educationally, the activities of the people. There is the Council of Arts and Manufacture for the improvement of industry and commerce with its evening lectures and courses.[24] At Hochelaga, the Rev. J. N. Dupuis saw, in the parish school, 72 boys who were skilful typewriters and 24 who have become telegraphers.[25] There are the mechanical schools of Montreal and of Quebec. Their aim is to equip competent men along the line of industrial purpose and provide a high class of managers for various firms. They develop a progressive and practical spirit that will tell. These schools will most probably expand along other lines.[26] Young women are

[24] *Revue Trimestrielle Canadienne,* November, 1916, p. 275.
[25] *L'Enseignement primaire,* 1915, p. 234.
[26] *Ibid.,* p. 277.

not excluded. Ample provisions exist to prepare them for especial service.

By a real reaction against classical education in the colleges a great impulse has been given to commercial instruction and training. Commercial courses are given at the Lévis College, the La Salle Academy of Three Rivers, at the Arthabaska College, at the Mont St. Louis College of Montreal, at the Longeuil College, at the Commercial College of St. Jérôme, at the St. Laurent College, and at that of Vallyfield. The Brothers of the Sacred Heart have several institutions.[27] The Brothers of St. Vincent de Paul have a college in Sorel.[28] The Congregation of the Holy Cross have commercial courses and commercial academies.[28a] The Brothers of the Christian Schools have a remarkable academy in Quebec, possessing elegant buildings and a rare equipment, blending what some would call modern academic culture with commercial training of a high order. Taken all in all, this education is not essentially different from the large and free courses of American colleges. A happy complement of these efforts is the Montreal School of High Commercial Studies where two hundred students have a superior commercial training.

It should be noted that there is a group of younger men who are clamouring for greater activity, more practical thinking, and urging their countrymen to take their share of the abounding wealth about them. A young sociologist, Errol Bouchette, a few years ago published *Emparons-nous de l'industrie* and in it voiced the ideals of the most earnest men of our day. Moreover many young men and young women are at work in English commercial houses of the cities who, with their bilingual education, are becoming valuable auxiliaries. What a contrast between the present situation and that of one hundred years ago, when E. A.

[27] *Le Canada ecclésiastique*, 1818, p. 412.
[28] *Ibid.*, p. 411.
[28a] *Ibid.*, p. 438.

Talbot said: "Very few French Canadians are now employed in the commerce of this city." [29] The theoretical training of the schools as well as that of experience will be a great help. In every way they are taking a large share in the industrial and commercial enterprise. The movement is so positive that protests have already been heard that all this tends to draw the population away from agriculture.[30] An eminent clergyman with an English name asserted that too much English is taught. It is difficult to satisfy those who preach the gospel of rustic felicity—men most of whom have abandoned farm life. This will not prevent these sons of France, excelling in agriculture, from seeking their place in the industrial and commercial sun of British North America.

[29] *Five Years' Residence,* Vol. II, p. 282.
[30] *L'Action populaire,* October 21, 1920; *La Revue nationale,* 1921, p. 7.

CHAPTER XV

EVOLUTION OF RELIGIOUS LIFE

IN gauging Catholicism in Quebec one must bear in mind that all religious bodies, willingly or otherwise, create and live in an atmosphere of their own, and limit their interests to the scope of their horizon. The earnest, mystical group that does so much good at Northfield, Massachusetts, and claims to continue Moody's fruitful work, sees but little outside of the circle of its sympathisers. The Society of Friends, that highly intelligent and spiritual fraternity, are in touch with but little outside of their order. They are unusually kind to outsiders, but they enter into the work of other Christians only in so far as they are formally identical with their own. The Unitarians, with their large intellectual coefficient, cannot be said to have a communion of spirit with other religious bodies as large as their theology. This is true of the Methodists, who are so much alive, and of the Baptists, so missionary, so zealous in reaching the churchless, as well as of the Episcopalians, with their relative isolation from other Protestant bodies. This ecclesiastical concentration is a condition of their religious existence. It is the force of cohesion which holds them together.

Roman Catholicism is subject to the same law. In her struggle for existence the church has used various means which do not all commend themselves to us. She claims to transcend all other human powers, and that she has a right to rule over all. She is a religion of authority which dominates the hierarchy at every step, attempts to regulate all

the modalities of her religious life, approves or represses various forms of initiative. She asserts the supremacy of Canon Law which cannot be enforced in Canada, nor in the province, but with a serene patience she is ever attempting to extend its scope. The educational magazine, *L'Enseignement primaire,* constantly states the bearing of Canon Law upon any educational measure. The church defends herself, surrounded as she is in North America by eighty million Protestants and Free-thinkers, as best she can. Her people might be drawn away by them. The faithful must be guarded.

Her priests have the reputation of being enormously wealthy; thirty years ago Baron Hulot claimed that they owned "about one-third of the real estate of Lower Canada." [1] The English circulate similar tales. Their wealth is beyond question, but Anglo-Protestants, who constantly refer to this, never say a word about the great wealth of the National Church in England. The Sulpicians are represented as the largest holders of securities in Canada.[2] The Grey Nuns and other Orders are credited with large incomes. The fact that they do not report their financial status has worked prodigiously upon popular imagination, Protestant and Catholic alike. It is peculiar, however, that Protestants, who compensate their clergymen so well as compared with Catholics, should reproach these priests and nuns for their ability to look after the temporal. They have been obliged to give attention to the economics of their service.

They have been wise and tactful in dealing with tithes, so long paid in kind to the church in every country. The survival of the system is almost peculiar to Quebec, though in England and Scotland there are extensive remains of that institution. In Canada the historic tenth was replaced

[1] *De l'Atlantic au Pacifique,* p. 97.
[2] Myers, *History of Canadian Wealth,* p. 17.

by the twenty-sixth part of the grain harvested and in many parts of the country and at different times this applied also to various products of the land. When this entails hardships compromises are made. Mr. Willson [3] and Mr. Hopkins [4] state that some priests encourage their flock to enter dairy farming, although they receive no tithe. The men who have no tithable property pay a church tax of two dollars a year. In some places tithes have almost disappeared. When, in the early days of British rule, English and French seigniors attempted to raise the dues, the Quebec Seminary declined to join them in their selfish aim, though the change proposed would have been a great gain for the institution.[5] Anglo-Canadian stories that half the farms are mortgaged to build churches [6] are colossal exaggerations. If the church taxes were as oppressive as stated by prejudiced critics, there would be more complaints.

The unimpassioned outsiders, who have been able to come in fair and unbiassed contact with the clergy, have dismissed the former slanders concerning the craftiness of priests and their sombre designs. There have been, unquestionably, crafty priests and selfish prelates, but the same thing can be said of ministers. The time has passed when we could accept the statements of Free-thinkers beyond the sea that the clergy of Canada were sybarites and epicureans. Dr. James Douglas mentions the reference of Lahontan to the fact that the Jesuits two centuries ago put ice in their wine, and that has given these men a reputation which contrasts with their spirit of sacrifice.[7] Let those who are so severe with the regular clergy see the rooms in which the professors of the *Grand Séminaire* of St. Sulpice live, men distinguished by their learning, their refinement, and

[3] *Quebec: the Laurentian Province*, p. 60.
[4] *French Canada and the St. Lawrence*, p. 295.
[5] Dionne, *Pierre Bédard et ses fils*, p. 13.
[6] Bradley, *Canada in the Twentieth Century*, p. 77.
[7] *New England and New France*, p. 376.

their wealth; let them see their life of poverty, accepted cheerfully—not to say heroically—so as to have the more to give, and the prejudice will vanish. The love and respect in which they are held spring from the consciousness of their virtues and their consecration. There is no more exemplary body of men. Many writers testify to this aspect of the lives of the clergy.

A German officer who came over with the Hessian and Brunswick troops, to fight for England, says in 1776: "The curés are mostly good and socially disposed men with agreeable manners—some of them possessing considerable knowledge." [8] Lord Durham was greatly impressed by them. "The Catholic priesthood of this province," he says, "have, to a remarkable degree, conciliated the goodwill of persons of all creeds; I know of no parochial clergy in the world whose practice of all Christian virtues, and zealous discharge of their clerical duties, is more universally admitted and has been productive of more beneficial consequences. Possessed of incomes sufficient and even large according to the notions entertained in the country, and enjoying the advantage of education, they have lived on terms of equality and kindness with the humblest and the least instructed inhabitants of the rural districts. Intimately acquainted with the wants and characters of their neighbours, they have been the promoters and dispensers of charity, and the effectual guardians of the morals of the people; and in the general absence of any institution of civil government, the Catholic Church has presented almost the only semblance of stability and organisation, and furnished the only effectual support of civilisation and order." [9]

The transformation of the French Canadian Church, from the time of French rule to the present day, has been admirably set forth by Duvergier de Hauranne: "One may say that the Catholic Church, in Canada, is a privileged

[8] Stone and Hund, p. 36. [9] *Report*, p. 98.

institution, but it is not oppressive. It is a kind of free association which imposes close obligations upon its members, which insists that they shall perform them so long as they belong to it, but admits that they may withdraw from it by repudiating its doctrines. . . . Is it not curious to see how the modern spirit can keep the customs and the traditions of the past; and how democracy may mould itself in the forms of feudalism? This is an ancient privilege which, without a violent revolution, without ruins, without disorders, by the introduction only of two new ideas, that of individual independence and that of freedom of conscience, finds itself transformed to a condition similar to the American system of voluntaryism." [10]

Another important modification of the French Canadian Church is that, at an early period, it came in direct contact with the Vatican. Its relations with it have been so constant and the spirit of Rome has asserted itself with such might that the Gallican spirit of earlier days has disappeared entirely. This was not the result of love of ecclesiastical power, but of the sincere conviction, fostered by the visible Head of the Church, that Ultramontanism is divine and demands an absolute surrender to the Sovereign Pontiff. Nevertheless the church later on experienced that great change which has taken place in all cultivated countries and which led Melchior de Vogüe, in his *Spectacles contemporains,* to complain that Catholics defend her unskilfully by laying stress upon her immutability, and fail to bring out her power of transformation. Her adaptation to new conditions has been marvelous. The democratic spirit has penetrated the clergy, and that of the clergy the people. A Catholic writer has said that the church might be called "ultra-modern" by her daring in adapting herself to new conditions. True! but what becomes of the tradition of *eadem semper*, or of the doctrine of religious fixity?

[10] *Huit mois en Amérique,* Vol. I, p. 389.

The Church had to organise self-government, and free herself from government interference. Her history for a long time was affected by the Gallican spirit of the French monarchy, conflicting with the Ultramontane régime, as well as by a necessary transition which took place from the evolution of a missionary clergy from France into a national Canadian clergy. Between 1665 and the Cession there were 572 priests from the Motherland and 179 Canadians.[11] In this evolution it was natural that there should be some opposition to the priests from the old home.[12] There were painful wranglings by eminent laymen among themselves and with the high clergy. Bishop Laval was not free from it. His successor, Mgr. de Saint-Vallier, *avec ses foudres toujours menaçantes,*[13] "fulminating in those days as sharply against 'big sleeves' and 'low-necked dresses' of Quebec damsels as the sternest Puritan of the period in Boston" [14] was all along in conflicts. "Ecclesiastical war." says Mgr. Têtu, "was carried on even over his grave." [15] Bishop de Pontbriand had a long lawsuit with the chapter and seminary of Quebec.[16] Mgr. Briand was fought by his churchwardens, even in Rome.[17] Most bishops had to meet difficulties of a contentious nature. With English rule came many unfair attempts to deprive the church of her resources and of her autonomy. Craig and Ryland attempted a *Kulturkampf* much less generous than that of Bismarck. Their government wanted the nomination of bishops and of priests, something like the Concordat in France, or the Church of England. The clergy resisted all they could. Mgr. Baillargeon was the first bishop, since the Cession, who was elected without any interference.[18] Henceforth they carried on the evolution of

[11] Colby, p. 283.
[12] Têtu, *Les Evêques de Québec,* pp. 591, 598.
[13] *Ibid.,* p. 129.
[14] C. H. Baker, p. 84.
[15] Têtu, *Ibid.,* p. 151.
[16] *Ibid.,* p. 228.
[17] *Ibid.,* p. 288.
[18] *Ibid.,* p. 627.

their institutions, not without violent friction, like that of the Quebec and Montreal Laval University controversy.[19] While they kept their hands, to some extent, upon political leadership, they concentrated their energy upon their spiritual service.

They had, and have now, a prodigious sway over their people, not on account of their culture or their theological studies, though some of them are genuinely learned while untouched by the Catholic modernism of Europe. They have not reached the point at which the searcher, rising above the conclusions of all sciences and philosophies, comes to demonstrate the rational utility and indispensable character of religious beliefs. Nature has no divine voice for them and seems to exist, at most, as a suggestion of religious thought. Even here they tend less toward high theological culture than toward heroic life. The most advanced scholarship of France seems unknown to the higher clergy. The remarkable books, the flower of French erudition, published by Hachette and Felix Alcan, in Paris, in so far as we could ascertain, are really out of their vision. Overburdened with the cares of their diocese what time have they for reading? With their religious utilitarianism, *cui bono?* Priests at large do not feel that they must work for truth; they have it, and with their changelessness they do not need a restatement. Their imperative duty is to dispense it to the faithful and to assert constantly the essential facts of religion. Still there is among many of them an increasing possession of intellectual force.

In this matter we are not as pessimistic as Professor Louis Arnould, from the University of Rennes, France, who for some years taught in the Montreal University, and who as a Catholic is alarmed that the "magnificent efflorescence

[19] See Fauteux, *Bibliographie de la question universitaire Laval-Montréal* in the *Annuaire de l'Université de Montréal*, 1922-1923.

of apologetics which bloomed in France during the last eighty years . . . had not yet penetrated in Canada." He said that on his next trip to France, at the request of the religious authorities, he brought back the works of Lacordaire, Père Gratry, Montalembert, Perreyve, Didon, Fouard, Montsabré, Mgr. d'Hulst, Guérangers, Girodon, and Guilbert for the library of the university.[20] However, all these works were already in the College of Ste. Marie and in that of Montreal, but they were not within easy reach of the clergy. Such works are indispensable for a modern French religious culture and to train the priests of Canada to meet free-thought which exists, though not on a large scale, but is growing.

The idea that the theological conceptions, even of the clergy, are homogeneous, identical, cast, so to say, in the same mould, is erroneous. The Chicoutimi daily paper condemned unsparingly the Reformation and the French Revolution, but an eminent professor of theology said that the latter was "a providential occurrence." One hears by the side of such reasonable opinions, especially in monastic quarters, the assertion that faith in the supernatural is waning. Obviously the old credulity in some domains is replaced by the acceptance of the reign of law. These men fail to see that the natural is also supernatural, that the laws of nature and of life are God's ways of working. Henri Poincaré, distinguished scientist of France, at the end of the nineteenth century says that science ever places us in presence of a perpetual miracle. Men like Mgr. Hamel and Mgr. Laflamme were thoroughly modern. If the narrow theological spirit is powerful, the larger is growing.

It would be a singular mistake to think that the training of priests in the seminaries has not changed both in its philosophical and ethical aspects. Chauveau speaks of the

[20] *Nos Amis les Canadiens*, p. 141.

transformation in the spirit of the Quebec Seminary at the time of Professor Holmes.[21] "The old spirit . . . was severe, not quite so much so as that of St. Sulpice of Montreal, but much more than could be imagined today." [22] As compared with former days, much progress has been made in the realm of biblical studies and religious training enriched with a wider knowledge. The clergy are not so easily recruited. The number of theological students in Montreal and Quebec becomes fewer, but perhaps more earnest. Many come from the country. The ablest students sent to Rome or Paris have a larger point of view, even if their theological ideas are undisturbed. Displacement has a broadening influence. Their Christology is more and more positive and some of their most mystical monks push the doctrine of the atonement even as far as the most extreme Protestant revivalists.[23] A long and fervent siege has been made against heresies and non-Catholics, but nevertheless slight heretical and liberal infiltrations are not infrequently detected.

The Orders were excellent agencies to create a reaction. From 1837 to 1918 there were brought to Canada, or founded there, some 27 organizations for men and 51 for women.[24] Apart from their special service they are antidotes against Protestantism, Free-thought, and religious modernity. Their influence has tended to strengthen the principle of authority. Pledged and devoted to an unremitting service, they display an irrepressible spirit of apostleship. They have surrendered their personal freedom and their all to their superiors, and they urge those who come under them to do the same. Wherever they have exerted their influence it has been at the expense of the mental, moral, and religious independence of their adherents.

[21] *L'Abbé Jean Holmes,* p. 4. [22] *Ibid.,* p. 5.

[23] See a poem by the Rev. Marius Deves, an Oblate, *Introibo ad altare Dei, La Voix du sol,* Ottawa, December 25, 1919.

[24] *Le Canada ecclésiastique,* 1918, pp. 399-598.

Some of the last monastic comers are scarcely popular among the secular clergy. A practical reaction is in sight. What constitutes their power is that some are indefatigable teachers, putting forth their unflagging energy to popularise agricultural, commercial, and industrial education. Members of the secular clergy have also lent all their influence to the extension of colonisation. Abbé Caron is mentioned by *Le Canada ecclésiastique* as "colonising missionary in the Temiscaming." In many domains now these ecclesiastics put the people in touch with larger influences.

The clergy were not able to keep, as they wished, their hold upon the political life of the country. For a long time they were a unit, on the Conservative side, and that was quite natural for men whose distant predecessors were so favourable to the Richelieu policy of *une loi, un roi, une foi* men, supporters of the old nobility. A general opposition to the Liberals was made by them, an opposition which was intense, offensive, and often shocking by its unfairness. These Liberals were called *rouges,* a name which brought suggestions of the horrors of the French Revolution; while, with the exception of a small group of young enthusiasts, they were religiously conservative Catholics, absolutely orthodox, who believe in progressive politics. The Conservatives called themselves *bleus,* and during the elections they originated what seemed to them a pious slogan, "Heaven is blue and hell is red," which shows the unscrupulousness of those who used it.[25] The clergy were on the side of the Tories. The bishops went to such extremes that Rome itself, at different times, and in no ambiguous language, requested their abstention from politics.[26] The rise of the Liberals to office, in spite of pastoral letters and episcopal opposition, was considered a defeat, and a defeat it was.

[25] Langelier, Vol. I, p. 135.
[26] David, *Hist. du C.*, p. 156; Langelier, p. 38.

They are still quite dominant. At the opening of the legislature of Quebec, in 1919, Cardinal Bégin had a seat similar to that of the Hon. Adélard Turgeon, the Speaker of the Legislative Council. There were two bishops with him, not to speak of numerous Roman Catholic priests, most of whom were in seats of honour. Every one rose when the cardinal, preceded by the usher, entered. This dignitary shook hands most cordially with the Anglican bishop of Quebec who appeared in a very subordinate position. The whole attitude of those present was the political recognition of the prelates who control all religious life, except that of some of the Orders who, at times, show a great independence. When the cardinal most sensibly expressed the wish that the cloistered Ursulines should come from behind their walls with their pupils, they declined. The bishops have the control of all Catholic education. It is unquestionably a sign of a new spirit that they have approved the transformation of the Montreal Laval into a new university, which gives laymen a larger place in its direction.

Non-Catholics must not overrate the magnitude of the power of this episcopate, however great it may be. We have theorised about the freedom of our churches and of their members, but we know that in some of them are good men who, because they are good are spiritual, if not theological, autocrats. Similarly we have thought of Catholicism as a marvel of command and obedience, of the hierarchy as a paragon of authority, before whose words every knee bows and that at once. No one should attempt to identify the two systems, the Catholic and the Protestant, but in actual life both have discrepancies between theory and practice. We join Professor Colby in almost all his utterances, but not when he asserts that "in the sphere of religion what was under the old régime is now." [27] The

[27] *Canadian Types*, p. 260.

change in the organised forces has been great. Taking a small section of the whole the city of Montreal, in 1850 there was but one parish, now there are 80. The diocese had 120 parishes, now 330. Its spiritual ministrants both regular and secular were 120, now it has 1,300 priests. The ecclesiastical machinery has received a great development and sociologically the religious life has been modified.[28]

The church in French Canada is no longer a spiritual administration as of old. It has grown into a great organism ever changing. Its leadership demands vigilance and tact. The saying applied to politics, *Il faut que je les suive puisque je suis leur chef*, may suggest the attitude of some of the prelates. They lead and are led. They might individually say, *teneo et teneor*. They must be careful, for there are heresy hunters even in the Catholic Church. The bishops must bear in mind their surroundings and be patient when wishing to move on. They stand in the very quick of an intense life and of new experiments in church works, some of which are stupendous. Take, for instance, the St. Jacques church of Montreal and its great variety of activities. Thirteen Sulpicians devote their life to it. Apart from its schools—they are large and important—it has guilds for men, for boys, for women, for young girls, the *diurne adoration* for the development of intense religious life, the Brotherhood of Good Death, a temperance society, that of St. Vincent de Paul, to look after the poor, sewing circles, an organisation to help mothers, the *Club St. Jacques* with two sections, one for men and one for boys on their weekly holiday, and three homes for young women. Then there is the central office which is at one a savings-bank, a loan institution, and an advisory bureau for the poor in trouble. These, like all the other activities, must be to some extent watched and controlled.

The same thing is true of all important religious works.

[28] *La Revue canadienne*, 1920, p. 403.

Some of them have risen almost spontaneously, like the *Association catholique de la jeunesse canadienne,* known as the A. C. J. C. It was not created by the bishops, but as soon as it was constituted it was placed at once under their authority. This organisation, in its spirit and purpose, is akin to the Societies of Christian Endeavour. Their influence is considerable, and the young men in it will represent a more intelligent and earnest type of Catholic. There are, also, among new departures, the imitation of the *Semaines sociales* of France, gatherings at which social questions are discussed "in the light of Catholic doctrine." There teachers, ecclesiastics, and laymen view social problems in the spirit of the Encyclical Letter, *Rerum Novarum.* The word "discuss" is inappropriate, for there are no discussions as in a congress, though outside of the lectures, with their dogmatic character, the professors will answer questions from their hearers. These are men of action who are trained for service and leadership. Of course, points of view, other than the Catholic, are set aside, and when the session is over the members of these conferences accept as an undisputed fact that society can only keep its stability and life through the Catholic Church. Her writers are obliged to admit that hearers are few and less receptive than those in the mother country.

In their intense activities they have a most militant agency, *L'Œuvre des tracts,* a tract society, publishing short papers to further the purpose of militant Catholicism. In tone and spirit, these publications are vastly inferior to the best utterances of their clergy at large. Looking the field over one might say that revivalism is the dominant trait of this religious life, but it is less fantastic, less fanciful, and individualistic than that of Protestants. The retreats of all kinds within closed walls, in a monastery, a convent, or in a building devoted to that purpose, represent perhaps the most pronounced form of

this work to arouse an earnest religious spirit. There are special gatherings of this kind for men of various professions and trades—grocers, commercial travellers, gardeners, and men of other occupations, as potent as they are new.[29] Some are held separately for teachers of both sexes. These retreats are distinct from revival-preaching sessions held in the churches for all parishioners. In these conventicles the beneficiaries live together, secluded in an atmosphere impregnated with an intense religious spirit which makes a profound impression. The St. Jean Baptiste societies, the St. Pierre Union, the St. Joseph Union, the Society of French Artisans, the National Alliance, etc., are really living religious associations, serving the interests of the church. Now these societies—we do not mention them all—demand constant encouragement, a ceaseless oversight, on the part of the episcopate.

Noting the tactful way in which this is done some say that the prelates have become prudent, others use the word "crafty"; we would say, wise. They see that much, now, lies outside of the scope of their action, no longer to be dealt with by canonical condemnations, but by a gentler attitude. They have a sagacious moderation. The case of the *Institut Canadien* enables us to gauge the difference between the old and the new spirit. This organisation, asserting its independence, was branded as dangerous by Bishop Bourget, then at the head of the diocese. Thinking that his objections were against some books of their library, they brought him their catalogue, respectfully praying him to point out the objectionable books. The prelate kept the list six months, and then returned it without mentioning a single one. A young priest of the diocese of Angers, censured by his bishop, attempted to justify himself by sending a very strong document to him. Mgr. d'Angers replied, "A bishop does not discuss, he does not refute; he

[29] *La Vie nouvelle*, Montreal, 1918, p. 201.

condemns." [30] Mgr. Bourget did not even take that trouble. His silence demanded an absolute capitulation. Mgr. Bruchesi might or might not have condemned the *Institut,* but he would patiently and kindly have debated the question with the members, have reasoned, as he has so often successfully done, with recalcitrants and most probably would have won them over. The difference here is that between the demands of silent authority and the real method of the Good Shepherd.

An English journalist says that Montreal has no public library. Why? Because "the Roman Catholic bishop refused his assent to a public library unless he was permitted to select the books." [31] That was true formerly, but the world has moved. The library of the *Institut Canadien* is a part of the Fraser Institute of Montreal where any Montrealer may read the books. The city has a fine public library, with a rich collection of works of a most varied character, housed in a palatial structure. There is also the St. Sulpice Library, meeting a real Roman Catholic popular want, and at the same time responding to the needs of genuine students and searchers. For the masses, it has a wide range of approved books, while it reserves for men and women of larger culture, and for special students, works of an entirely different character. Here they have books of a wide range which would have been inaccessible to French Canadians some time ago. One finds in their reading-room some of the best English and American periodicals. This is another of the benefactions of the Sulpicians which marks the progress made in this domain and which could not have been inaugurated under previous episcopates.

However, the day of absolutely free books, freely dispensed to the public, making readers judges of their fitness, has not yet come. Furthermore, books in homes are not

[30] Paul Sabatier, *A propos de la séparation des églises de l'État,* p. 70.
[31] W. Maxwell, *Canada To-Day,* p. 72.

so common as in most progressive countries; but, even here, there is gain. We are far from the time when, according to Gérin-Lajoie in 1844, the library of the weekly *La Minerve* consisted of two dictionaries, that of Boiste, published in 1800, and a small English one.[32] Many priests recommend reading, but, of course, of approved books, now more common than before. An evidence of a more latitudinarian spirit is that books formerly condemned have since been permitted. Still, if a bishop interdicts a book, it is doomed to be left untouched by the people, though more slowly than in bygone days. Some of the strongest works of contemporary science and erudition find their way among the cultivated. Professors in the universities will talk—cautiously, of course—of the works of great French thinkers, but slowly and surely, by infiltration, comes contemporary thought.

Formerly, the book-stores helped the exclusive policy materially. Forty years ago a Boston lady went to one of them and asked for a set of Molière's works. She was told by the clerk that the celebrated playwright was not proper reading for a lady. All the books, in good Catholic houses, that are on the shelves are understood to be safe, yet most dealers will order any work from France. Until 1879, there was a severe opposition to the Liberal press, papers thoroughly democratic, but at bottom sincerely orthodox in matters of religious faith. Until then, no French organ of the Liberal party was able to live. *L'Avenir, Le Bien public,* and *Le National* had to close their doors, though the editors asserted that they were faithful sons of the Church.[33] Now, the leading organs of political opinion are Liberal. Some of the papers, the most obedient to the ecclesiastical authorities, publish, in their columns, poems of men of a philosophy unfriendly to Catholicism, but good poems.

[32] Casgrain, Vol. II, p. 475.
[33] Eugène Réveillaud, *Histoire du Canada,* p. 454.

The power of the bishops has been increased by the closer contact of the priests with national life. They are doing service in every organisation of the people. Their influence springs more and more from their hold upon the vital forces of the province. They are the spiritual engineers who hold in their hands the lever of life, and keep that hold owing to the popular consciousness of their service. They have a most intimate and dignified contact with the population. One of them said to Professor Arnould, "We do not need to go to the people, we are there;" [34] hence their retention of the popular confidence. They have not ceased to assert the supremacy of the religious over the civil authority, but they do it more gently and in subdued tones. The priests are a part of the national life. The real man has grown in them and this has rooted them more deeply in the life of the people. The bishop has the considerate leadership of both. What a difference of spirit between Mgr. Laval and Mgr. de St. Vallier as compared with the gentle cardinal of Quebec or the splendid Archbishop Bruchesi!

Similarly some phases of the religious life are no longer what they were in bygone days. Former ascetism with its extreme consequences has been modified. The Ursulines, in 1776, say that they have been obliged to add a meal per day and to lessen abstinences, because health in general is weaker and the individual life is briefer.[35] Joseph Sansom of Philadelphia complains, in 1817, that in the preceding year, at Beaupré, he dined as he could, "upon salt fish without eggs: for it was a meagre day." [36] There were such fasts and abstinences from meat during the greater part of Lent that many became wrought up, nervous, and exhausted. Their fast extended even to tobacco. All this has been changed. In the schools there may yet be much about mor-

[34] *Nos Amis les Canadiens*, p. 118.
[35] *Les Ursulines de Québec*, Vol. III, p. 664.
[36] *Sketches of Lower Canada*, p. 36.

tifying the body to strengthen the soul, but everywhere they have gymnastic training, and an efficient physical culture. Soon their slogan may be: Strengthen the body to serve the soul. Monastic institutions have lessened their rigour and cloistered ones find pretexts to open their doors once in a while, at least. They make hair-splitting distinctions between papal and episcopal closure; the last may be modified by the bishops. Equal in consecration with those of early times, the monks and nuns have no longer that spirit of miraculosity constant in their correspondence, and seen in almost every page of the books written by them or about them.[37] Like the most intelligent believers they no longer see miracles in every pious experience. Cloistered or not, monastics now have largely come in contact with modern life, become more logical, better educated, use scientific methods, believe in microbes, have laboratories, stenographers, telephones, and emerge more and more from their isolation. In all their work of teaching, in commercial and industrial training, in hospital work and all other service, they adapt themselves more and more to contemporary life.

One of the facts which especially strikes a Frenchman acquainted with the efforts of Napoleon to reduce the number of holidays in France which the faithful had observed like Sunday, is that Mgr. de Pontbriand, long before the Concordat, by an agreement with the Holy See, suppressed nineteen out of thirty-five holidays then considered obligatory, or rather had their religious observance carried over to the following or preceding Sunday.[38] Fourteen other holidays were suppressed later on. They modified their

[37] See: *Vie de Mlle. Mance;* M. E. L. Couarnier de Launay, *Histoire des religieuses hospitalières de St. Joseph; Les Ursulines de Québec;* Josephine Holmes, *Glimpses of the Monastery; Les Ursulines des Trois-Rivières;* Casgrain, *Histoire de la vénérable Marie de l'Incarnation* and *Histoire de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Québec; Vie de la Sœur Bourgeoys.*

[38] Têtu, p. 236; P. G. Roy, *Les petites choses de notre histoire, p.* 76.

religious services. A venerable old priest complained that he could not be reconciled to the Roman pronunciation of Latin. The character of the singing of the French hymns has been amazingly improved in its religious spirit, in its poetry and music, if we are to judge by the *Trois cents cantiques anciens et nouveaux* [39] of the Rev. Louis Bouhier, S.S., choir-master of Notre Dame, compared with former hymnals. Innumerable practices have been modified. All priests are not now subjected to the tonsure.

A most striking evolution is the entrance of the people into the activities of the church. Formerly most of her work was done by clergymen and monastics, now laymen are taking an ever widening place in all forms of religious service. On all sides efforts are made to create a religious body forwarding church interests. This went so far that at the Eucharistic Congress of 1910, in Montreal, laymen were for the first time allowed to speak in Notre Dame. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Henri Bourassa, and Sir Lomer Gouin were lay orators on that occasion. An Israelite entering into the Holy of Holies in Jerusalem would not have been a greater innovation. Since then, regional congresses of a kindred nature have been inaugurated [40] in the province with sessions in the churches, at which laymen have taken important parts. They were foremost as speakers in a recent temperance crusade which took place there. Several of the addresses, published in M. Magnan's *Au Service de mon pays,* were delivered in churches.[41]

Another surprising innovation was when the Mission Fayolle visited Montreal, and its members, entering the cathedral on Sunday, were greeted with the peals of the *Marseillaise* from the organ. When, years ago, Cardinal Lavigerie had it played by the band of one of his schools,

[39] Libraire Beauchemin, Montréal.
[40] *Almanach du peuple,* 1914, p. 347.
[41] *Au Service de mon pays,* pp. 315, 333, 411.

this act called forth a storm of French Catholic protests, but now it was played in the French Canadian St. Peter's. Significant signs of the times are the illustrated lectures, to children of certain age, in the vestries of many churches upon the dangers of venereal diseases, under the direction of Dr. A. H. Desloges and the supervision of the clergy. There is the belief that this education is the first step in the elimination of an evil which is a menace to social health. Surely Roman Catholics life in Quebec is evolving, in the whole national organism, into a larger power because of greater service.

CHAPTER XVI

POPULAR EDUCATION

FRENCH Canadians made a place for education, and an important one, in the early days of the Colony. With their first missions to the Indians there were modest educational attempts. In 1616 a school was opened at Three Rivers by the Franciscan brother, Duplessis.[1] As early as 1618 the subject of a college is mentioned, and in 1620 it exists though at first devoted to the red man.[2] At the end of the seventeenth century the population was about a thousand souls and yet for a long time there had been in Quebec and in Montreal houses of education for both sexes.[3] The Jesuits founded a college which drew students even from the West Indies.[4] The predominant aim of these schools, setting aside their work for the Indian, was to educate priests and the sons of the well-to-do. When the Jesuit college was suppressed by England, the Catholic Seminary of Quebec established a classical course to continue this form of education. The College of Montreal was founded in 1773 by Abbé Curatteau; the College of Nicolet was established in 1804 by the priest, Brassard; the College of St. Hyacinthe, in 1811, by the Rev. M. Girouard; the College of Ste. Thérèse, in 1825, by the Curé Ducharme; the College of Chambly, in 1826, by the clergyman Mignault; the College of Ste. Anne, in 1827, by the priest, Painchaud; the College of L'Assomption in 1832, by the Rev. Father Labelle.[5]

[1] Bourinot, *The Intellectual Development of the Canadian People*, p. 24.
[2] *L'Enseignement primaire*, 1916, p. 66
[3] Casgrain, Vol. I, p. 387.
[4] Heriot, p. 29.
[5] Casgrain, Vol. I, p. 434.

We will not quarrel with Mgr. Gosselin in his use of the word "revival," which would imply a revitalising of something that had previously existed; neither do we agree with him when he speaks of the unique experience of French Canadians, which was that of Protestant institutions in the United States—they had 45 colleges and 14 schools of theology—but we join heartily with him when he says, "Oh, the beautiful revival of education among French Canadians, during the first quarter of the nineteenth century! Was there ever anything comparable with it in any country of the world? When one thinks that during the period from 1804 to 1827, no less than five classical colleges saw the day among us, colleges fully constituted, of which four at least are still full of life . . . Let us notice that all this was done by private initiative, especially that of the clergy; the help from the State only came later." [6]

What was done in this connection and done with such absolute devotion, only brings out the fact that popular education, in the modern sense of the term, had been neglected. The reports of British agents upon this subject are those of prejudiced, or of incompetent men; yet they are so often corroborated, at least in part, by other evidence, that we cannot disregard their testimonies. For General Murray, "the natives are very ignorant"; [7] for Hugh Finlay, the deputy postmaster-general, and for General Haldimand, "not one in five hundred can read"; [8] and for Craig, in 1810, those able to read are not "one in a thousand." [9] As the population was 130,000 when Finlay made his statement there would have been less than 260 persons able to read in the province; and, according to Craig, less than 130 persons, which is unthinkable. We must set aside, also, a report of 1789 which says that this people, so admired for their virtues by Murray, Carleton, and many others,

[6] *Royal Society* III, Vol. I, p. 137.
[7] *D. C. H. C.*, p. 53.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 500; McIlwraith, p. 122.
[9] Christie, Vol. VI, p. 103.

have been thrown into "a state of vile barbarity." [10] This statement is almost identical with a petition from Catholics to the King to have professors and teachers. "Our colleges are deserted; from their want arises ignorance, and from ignorance moral depravity." [11] We must here make some allowance for the rhetoric of unphilosophical minds.

Much importance was ascribed, later on, by unfriendly critics, to the character of a petition sent to the British Government claiming to represent 87,000 French Canadians, but 9,000 only affixed their signatures, the rest their marks.[12] This petition is mentioned in most Anglo-Canadian histories as an evidence of the ignorance of French Canadians, but, at that same date, would a petition from Nova Scotians have had proportionally more signatures? Even a third of a century later Nova Scotia had 81,469 persons above five years of age unable to read a printed page, and 114,877 that could not write their names out of 284,000 persons of that age.[13] Hugh Gray states in 1809, "It is impossible to find in the counties and even sometimes in towns, men who, in every way, are capable of taking part in legislature." [14] For Captain Basil Hall, twenty years later, "the greater part of the representatives in the House of Assembly cannot even sign their names.[15] The calm historical investigator, Dionne, former secretary of Parkman, admits that there were three or four members, in five Parliaments which followed after the Act of 1791, who could neither read nor write,[16] as was the case with the Parliament of Toronto much later.[17]

[10] Quoted from *L'Enseignement primaire*, 1916, p. 537.
[11] Quoted from Riddell, p. 155.
[12] Christie, Vol. III, p. 176.
[13] Bourinot, *The Int. Dev. of the Can. People*, p. 34.
[14] *Letters from Canada*, p. 79.
[15] La Terrière, *A Political and Historical Account of Lower Canada*, p. 112.
[16] *Pierre Bédard et ses fils*, p. 59.
[17] Talbot, Vol. I, p. 405, and Vol. II, p. 118.

We feel differently as to the testimony of Louis Labadie, speaking of "the profound ignorance which reigns in the rural districts"; and that from a German officer stationed in Canada, "But few people are able to write, and the orthography of the rich, who can write, may be compared with that of our common classes at home." [18] In 1800, Pierre de Sales La Terrière refers to the country where there is not even the trace of a primary school.[19] Gérin-Lajoie, referring to the beginning of the nineteenth century, tells us that "schools in the country were rare and good teachers even more so." [20] In truth, there is a contrast between what was done for higher education and for the elementary. Abbé Casgrain admits the fact.[21] The same was true of Upper Canada; [22] nay, of most countries. It was late in the century when Europeans advocated the education of the masses. "Indeed," says Canniff Haight, "it used to be thought by men of birth and culture that to educate the poor would lead to strife and confusion—that ignorance was their normal condition, and that any departure therefrom would increase the misery and discontent." [23]

In 1801, the English endeavoured to open the schools of the Royal Institition, but this was objectionable on many grounds. The board of direction was almost entirely Protestant. Its president was the Anglican bishop sustained by other Protestant dignitaries. The obvious purpose was English and Protestant propaganda. These schools failed. The clergy made a strong opposition to them, because, regardless of their language and religion, they were unsatisfactory in other respects. The attempt excited much discussion and opposition. The people were in earnest. In 1821, they organized the *Société d'Education du district de*

[18] Stone and Hund, p. 37.
[19] *Mémoires de Pierre de Sales La Terrière et de ses traverses*, p. 201.
[20] Casgrain, Vol. II, p. 439.
[21] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 436.
[22] Hopkins, *The Progress of Canada*, p. 127.
[23] *Country Life in Canada Fifty Years Ago*, p. 155.

Québec.[24] On May 7 of that year a great general assembly met, to build, by personal subscriptions and help from the legislature, a school in which French and English would be taught.[25] In 1829, Sir James Kempt announces at a meeting "that elementary schools have been opened all through the province." [26] With this came a certain popular interest, and discussions upon the nature of education and the compensations of teachers. *La Minerve* asks for something more than instruction, it demands education; the introduction into the classes of lessons of justice, of morality, of the constitution, of the government, of agriculture, etc.[27] In 1830 La Terrière in London, comparing the relative importance of the services of the educator and of the magistrate, exclaims: "Why should a judge be paid in thousands and the teacher with bare means of existence?" [28]

French Canadians were then ready for schools of their own. Their representatives asked for them and finally they succeeded. Important grants were made which, in 1834, amounted to $90,000, a third of the total revenue and $50,000 less than was paid to British judges, and less than one-third of what was paid to other British officials. On the threshold of the Rebellion, the Legislative Council declined to approve the credits voted by the Assembly, not without good reasons. Through the uncompromising attitude of both houses, the support of the schools was dropped, leading to the closing of 1,600 of them and the dismissal of 40,000 pupils.[29] This was a stupendous blunder on both sides, but before attempting to fix the responsibility one must bear in mind the situation on the eve of 1837, and the unwise use of school appropriations.

For seventy-five years the French had been cut off from the culture of the homeland. Some of their best schools had

[24] *Les Ursulines,* Vol. IV, p. 668.
[25] Perrault, Vol. III, p. 82.
[26] *Ibid.,* Vol. IV, p. 38.
[27] La Terrière, *A Political,* p. 165.
[28] *Ibid.,* p. 162.
[29] *L'Enseignement primaire,* 1916, p. 539.

been closed. Lord Durham, passing over in silence the low character of the teaching of Upper Canada and the lack of preparation of teachers there, seems shocked that the French colonists should not have a sufficient supply of competent schoolmasters. Unquestionably some of the teachers were most ignorant, and there were those who did not even know how to read and write.[30] The abuses mentioned by the British statesman are mentioned as abuses, and leave the impression that something was done. His own countrymen in Canada are hardly any "better off than the French for the means of education for their children, except in cities." [31] Superintendent Chauveau admits frankly that there were regrettable things in the situation: 1. The habitants, not paying anything for the schools, failed to appreciate this education; 2. The sums expended were out of all proportion to the results, and members of the Assembly made a dangerous use of patronage.[32] However, on both sides, political considerations dominated the educational issue.

While individual priests were making personal efforts for the teaching of the habitant, the clergy did not display great enthusiasm until the advent of the democratic spirit at about the time of the Rising. When so many schools were closed, the people began to appreciate them, and wished to have them continue. The advent of French Protestant missionaries, who did not fail to lay stress upon the lamentable state of education, acted as a stimulant. The College of Berthier was the outcome of a reaction against the attempts of the Royal Institution, and the real educational work of Chicoutimi was the result of the people's demands for education, who had attended a missionary school founded by the Pointe-aux-trembles Protestant Society. When the priests objected, they said, "Very well, we will no longer send our children to that school, but

[30] *Report*, p. 67. [31] *Ibid.*, p. 94. [32] *L'Instruction*, p. 68.

give us something that takes its place." [33] The law of 1846, eighty-three years after the Cession, opened a new era. English public opinion had come to yield to the insistence of a people that had conscientious scruples against sending their children to any other school than their own.

At the Union of the Canadas steps were taken to yield to the pressing demands of the Catholic conscience. Soon after Bagot appointed Dr. Meilleur superintendent of public instruction.[34] Thus, while the educational problems of Ontario were in the hands of a good but untrained man, the Rev. Edgerton Ryerson, a Methodist preacher, self-educated, Quebec had a college-bred man, broadened by his studies and his teaching in the United States. The schools of this province, though far from ideal, were such as the people wanted. The clergy took the leadership—no other class of citizens were competent to do it—that meant control. This was even more complete under the Federation. Then Protestants and Catholics, with funds from their own fellow co-religionists, attained a satisfactory working system.

At the head of the educational machinery, in the Quebec Parliament Building, stands the superintendent of education who deals with problems of general interest. It has been the good fortune of French Canadians to be served by several able educators, men devoted to their church, supporting it, but with a practical sense of what was possible; men of a large calibre who brought the methods which conditions warranted. At the head of the English branch Dr. George W. Parmelee has been a most progressive leader, though English schools have a conservative spirit. French Canadians are greatly indebted to their general inspector, C. J. Magnan, for this work. The two parallel organisations have harmonious and courteous

[33] Buies, *Le Saguenay et le Bassin du lac St. Jean*, p. 160.
[34] Leacock, p. 115.

relations. While the French have an overwhelming majority in the province, they have, in a most remarkable way, respected the rights of Protestants, and treated them with utmost consideration.[35] The same is true of their attitude towards English and Irish Catholics[36] in every part of the province.

For one who remembers the schools as they were half a century ago, the first great and striking improvement is the advance made in their buildings. The old unsightly structures tend to disappear and make room for more spacious and sanitary ones. "The new buildings," says an inspector, "have a fine appearance, are healthy and comfortable. The eye looks upon them with satisfaction and the mind there is at ease."[37] Those in the city of Montreal are of the greatest elegance, some of them almost monumental. The Querbes Academy, at Outremont, apart from its fine architectural features, has a rare equipment for manual training and physical culture, the gymnasium has a running track, splendid gymnastic appliances, a large swimming pool, rooms in which to play all sorts of games, billiard tables, and various means of recreation. All this is open to the pupils until six o'clock, and then until ten to the parents. The Rev. J. N. Dupuis, one of the inspectors, speaks of 72 schools of Montreal, "some of which are real palaces."[38] The expression, though slightly flamboyant, is not too strong.

The cities have a general school administration, but in the rural districts the buildings and the choice of teachers are left with men called commissioners, elected by the parishes, men who, in New England, would have the name

[35] Paul de Cazes, *L'Instruction publique dans la province de Québec,* p. 15; Parmelee, *Education in the Province of Quebec,* p. 41; J. C. Sutherland, *L'Ens. prim.,* 1914, p. 64; Ami, p. 336.

[36] Magnan, *L'Ens. prim.,* 1917, p. 596; Mgr. O. E. Mathieu, *Education in the Province of Québec,* pp. 8, 9, 10.

[37] *L'Ens. prim.,* 1903, p. 206.

[38] *Ibid.,* 1915, p. 90.

of selectmen. It is at this point that the services of forty-four inspectors are of much importance. They see that the hygienic conditions of the schools are good, that the teachers are fit for their work, and that the school attains a required standard of efficiency. In their relations with these teachers they display much patience and kindness. They also do much to bring up the commissioners to their duties, and to improve their service in every way. It has been said that there are some of these men who cannot read or write, but that must be very rare. Furthermore, from 1912 to 1915, they held twenty-three conventions for the study of the possible improvement of their work. Those gatherings are still going on.

The record of this type of education shows ample growth in the number of schools and pupils. In 1836, French Canadians had 1,321 schools with 30,000 pupils [39] and now they have 7,706 schools, 19,118 teachers of both sexes, and 553,381 pupils. The average attendance in all the provinces is 67.83 per cent; in the province of Quebec it is 75 per cent or nearly 8 per cent above the school attendance of the dominion.[40] According to Archbishop Mathieu, in 1916, out of a hundred persons over five years of age, eighty-seven could read and write.[41] The province is making greater and greater sacrifices for education. The provincial grants rose from $475,000, in 1900, to $2,146,000 in 1920; and the fees collected, from $3,000,000 to $14,700,000. Ten years ago the total expenses for education were $6,210,000, and in 1921 they reached $19,201,405.[42] Anglo-Canadians have the great advantage of more men teachers in their common schools, because their salaries are nearly double those of the French. A school machinery worked almost exclusively by women, lay or religious, in

[39] Paul de Cazes, p. 13.
[40] Taschereau, p. 23.
[41] *Education in the Province of Québec, p.* 14.
[42] Taschereau, p. 23.

New England or in Canada, lacks one great element of strength.

Severe criticisms of this work are made, at the present time, by those who lose sight of its stupendous advance. The complaint is that the school attendance is not so large as it should be, and, what is more serious, the lack of continuation of their studies by the pupils. According to the statistics of 1916, the decrease in numbers is rapid from the first to the eighth year, when the attendance becomes very small.[43] The averages of the British Canadian schools, in this respect, are about the same.[44] Therefore the causes are not ethnological or religious, but local. The position of farms one after another along straight roads, scattering families to great distances, the severity of the climate, and the withdrawal, by the parents, of children needed on the farms, have a bad influence upon continuous school attendance.

The branches taught are not unlike those in good primary schools of the most progressive countries. Religious instruction is given for about half an hour daily, except during the year of the first communion, when more time is devoted to the subject. This takes place when the pupil is about ten years old. In the upper classes the catechism is replaced by the history of the church and by simple religious studies. Drawing and singing have been introduced. Moral teaching, not distinct from religion, is very strong. Prime Minister Taschereau insists that whatever may be the deficiencies of their schools, they have taught children their religious duties, kept them attached to the soil, developed their character, and cultivated the ideal. They certainly have the stay and anchorage of religion.

English, when possible, must be taught in all the schools from the second year, but that, so far, is mostly practised in cities. The reason why this programme has not been fully

[43] *Statistiques de l'enseignement*, 1916, p. viii. [44] *Ibid.*, p. x.

carried out is the lack of competent teachers. In the cities, the time devoted to the subject is about half an hour a day in the elementary stage, one hour in the intermediate, and two hours a day in the superior classes. In 1912-1913, English was studied by 110,296 pupils in the Catholic schools, by 8,199 in the colleges, and by 3,000 in independent schools. The numbers have greatly increased since then, but the most efficient way for the pupils to learn that language is constant contact with English people. Much attention is given to civility and good manners. This runs through the whole of the Canadian French life. Abbé Casgrain, speaking of a French officer, says, "By the exquisite delicacy of his manners, it was easy to see that he had a perfect education." [45] Politeness, in their eyes, is a concomitant of Christian virtues and of a high educational attainment.

Special efforts are made against obvious evils. This has been the case with alcoholism. The clergy and the schools have united in fighting the use of alcohol. Some of them have temperance societies.[46] One of the Orders in Montreal had a very successful anti-alcoholic exposition.[47] School savings-banks are growing.[48] Closely connected with this has been their hygienic work. At the Congress of Sanitary Services, in 1914, this organisation recommended the physical examination of children in the schools.[49] General Inspector Magnan voiced the moral consciousness of the best of Catholic educational leaders when he said: "We owe it to the French Canadian race to give its children, besides intellectual and moral culture, a broad chest, basis of all good health, a correct bearing and the development of physical and moral qualities which give self-reliance and make strong nations." [50] A service of hygienic and medical

[45] Vol. I, p. 27.
[46] *L'Enseignement primaire*, 1914, pp. 212, 241.
[47] *Ibid.*, pp. 127, 627.
[48] *Ibid.*, 1913, p. 59, and 1914, p. 379.
[49] *Ibid.*, 1917, p. 567.
[50] *Ibid.*, 1914, p. 141.

supervision was organized in 1917, with a staff of 21 physicians and 9 nurses.[51] During the first school year 90,514 pupils were examined and more than one-half of that number received the attention of optometrists, of dentists, and of nurses.[52] Physical culture is gaining ground. Suggestions have even been made to establish gymnastic societies, like those of France, which hold the pupils together after leaving school.

As the Kaiser said, "Our future is upon the water," French Canadians say, "Our future is on the land." Accordingly, they are alarmed when they see the population gravitating towards the cities. At the conventions of school commissioners there has been an outcry against leaving the farms.[53] This movement is not peculiar to Quebec; it is almost universal. In 1891, the urban population of the province was 28.7 per cent and the rural, 71.3 per cent; twenty years later the urban population was 45.5 per cent and the rural 54.5 per cent.[54] The patriotic slogan is now "Back to the land." Consequently, there has been everywhere the introduction of elementary agricultural principles. The teachers and inspectors have fitted themselves to direct this form of training which puts more intelligence and ideal into farming life. After some instruction in the general principles of agriculture, they are required to visit the best cultivated farms. One of the teachers made a collection of farm produce, which she humorously called her museum. Various local expositions of agriculture and of the work of women have been held.

Another form of this utilitarian teaching is that of horticulture. Jean Charles Magnan, the son of the general-inspector, has devoted his gifts not only to the imparting of agricultural intelligence but also to the art of gardening.

[51] *Rapport du Bureau d'hygiène et de statistique de Montréal*, 1917, p. 6.
[52] *Ibid.*, p. 53.
[53] *L'Enseignement primaire*, 1914, p. 159.
[54] *Ibid.*, 1913, p. 62.

With great zest he has entered these fields, displaying resourcefulness and originality. He has been foremost among those who have started school gardens, and has published an inexpensive booklet to help their establishment and development. In 1910, there were only 188 such gardens with 5,695 pupils, and in 1922, the gardens were 1,459 and the pupils 22,938.[54a] The progress continues and outside of the towns and villages the number of home gardens have increased to 22,721.[55] Arbor Day is also celebrated by them. The gardens and the trees will improve the appearance of the homes and communities.

The textbooks used in the province have been the subject of severe criticisms. A. G. Bradley, so friendly to French Canadians, says that they are discreditable to their intelligence.[56] Some are unquestionably dull and have a narrow spirit, but there are also adaptations to Canadian needs of fine textbooks from Paris which are choice. In the study of language, the examples and the historical allusions, taken from French history, are replaced by data from Canadian annals, narratives concerning their heroic history, with the purpose of instilling, in the minds of the pupils, Canadian patriotism.[57] Aside from this there is in the schools a great paucity of books and especially of works of reference. As compared with Upper Canada and the United States, the youth are not initiated into the love of books. There have been and still are reviews for teachers. Some of them, like *Le Journal de l'instruction publique,* edited by Chauveau, were more literary than pedagogic[58] but they exerted a great influence. *L'Enseignement primaire,* published by

[54a] *Statistiques de l'enseignement,* 1921-1922, p. 219.
[55] *L'Action populaire,* April 7, 1921.
[56] *Canada in the Twentieth Century,* p. 110.
[57] See Claude Augé, *Premier livre de grammaire, Deuxième livre de grammaire.* See also a Canadian edition of the *Dictionnaire Larousse Complet.*
[58] Magnan, p. 210.

General-Inspector Magnan, more pedagogic and well adapted to the culture of the teachers, is sent free by the province to every school.[59] There has also been a genuine progress in other ways, and most of all in the character of the teaching. At one time, the Lancaster method, long practised in France under the name *écoles mutuelles,* was tried. There are still lingerings of the old ways of teaching, by questions and answers, all prepared as if class-room work was a catechism, but there are innumerable infiltrations of the most modern continental pedagogy. Here are fragments of advice given to teachers in the official review: "The master must, as much as possible, cause the pupils to discover what he wishes to impart to them, by training them to observe, to think, to judge and to reason." [60] "What the master does is nothing but what he has done is everything." "Seek particularly to develop the *spontaneous* and free activity of the child." [61] In an address given by Abbé Philippe Perrier before one of the clubs of teachers in Montreal, are the following sentences: "To-morrow the child will have to think for himself, and to govern himself. We must therefore develop in him intellectual virility, for we must have to-day and to-morrow men who think." [62] "Fear not," he says again, "to see the child act and think for himself." [63]

The teachers are far from riveted to old methods. In some instances they have made important innovations. In Montreal one may see astonishing results of the phonetic system of reading and spelling. A class of beginners, in less than three months, had learned to read, though slowly, and to spell words of average simplicity. There is, in these better schools, a genuine enthusiasm for education and its steady advance. Much of this is due to the rational purpose

[59] Magnan, p. 221.
[60] *L'Enseignement primaire,* 1903, p. 195.
[61] *Ibid.,* 1916, p. 541.
[62] *Ibid.,* 1918, p. 38.
[63] *Ibid.,* p. 39.

to improve the teachers by securing an increase of salary, by encouraging the parishes to pay larger compensations, by giving them provincial bounties, by paying them a pension at fifty-six, and also to a Central Board of Catholic Examiners who test pedagogical fitness. Above all, credit is due to the normal schools. Advocated in 1837 by Abbé Jean Holmes,[64] they were opened twenty years later, beginning with the Jacques Cartier and the McGill in Montreal and the Laval in Quebec.[65] These places of education were so welcome that several teachers left their schools at once to secure a better preparation for their work.[66] There are now fourteen such institutions in the province. They were founded with such rapidity, that at the inauguration of the normal school of St. Pascal, the superintendent, M. de Bruère, exulted, with legitimate pride, in the fact that this was the tenth normal-school inauguration at which it was his privilege to preside.[67] Three new schools are to be added to the list. The number of students has increased from 192 in 1857 to 1,215 in 1921.[68] In two of them were opened a large department of domestic science. The summer courses in these institutions are free to any woman teacher holding, a model-school diploma. As a consequence, in 1921, there were in the province fifty schools of domestic economy in which 10,072 young girls learned to keep house skilfully.[69] There are fifty-eight courses of dress-cutting and dress-making in the province with an average attendance of 1,452. This popular education, judged by the addresses and papers of graduates and from the fact that many of these teachers prolong their studies to college or to the university, indicates that there is a strong, stimulating current of popular, educational energy in the province.

[64] *Royal Society*, III, Vol. I, p. 130.
[65] *Ibid.*, p. 129.
[66] Magnan, p. 184.
[67] *L'Ens. prim.*, 1914, p. 452.
[68] *Statistiques de l'enseignement*, 1920-1921, p. 205.
[69] *Ibid.*, 1921-1922, p. 67.

We have so far sketched the work of lay schools, but these are backed by historic institutions which hold a large place in the hearts of many Canadian French. For nearly three centuries the Ursulines have been popular educators of the daughters of the most distinguished families of the city of Quebec, including also, for some time, many young ladies from English homes. They have 150 sisters.[70] The *Dames de la Congrégation* have done their work for 265 years. Nine years ago they had 1,544 teaching members in 161 institutions, with 38,850 pupils.[71] If, at the present time, they are opulent, it is impossible to imagine greater difficulties than those which confronted them at the dawn of their history. Now they represent the most vital elements of the intellectual life of teaching sisters. There are also 1,300 Sisters of Ste. Anne, with 73 institutions and 25,000 pupils [72] and nearly one thousand Sisters of the Holy Cross who are teachers.[73] Then we count nearly half a score of sisterhoods with large forces. Among the men there are several brotherhoods, mostly engaged in elementary work, but aspiring to go further.

Here there is not only a determined effort of devoted service but also a great pedagogic advance. The monasteries are, to a certain extent, normal schools. The sisters work for the diploma of the institution and then more and more secure that of the state. A very distinguished sister among them insists that every teacher of the province ought to be thus equipped. After this diploma the *Dames de la Congrégation* urge many of their number to follow, in the monastery, a course of pedagogy affiliated with the university of their city. Then a selection of them takes a course of four years there, in high cultural branches, though only for a few hours each week. Forty sisters have already done that

[70] *Le Canada ecclésiastique,* 1918, p. 434.
[71] *L'Ens. prim.,* 1913, p. 65.
[72] *Histoire des Sœurs de Ste. Anne.*
[73] *Le Canada ecclésiastique,* 1918, p. 471.

work and passed their examinations. These daughters of the heroic Marguerite Bourgeoys are about to establish a superior institute of pedagogy. The universities have opened to monastics of both sexes what they call *l'enseignement secondaire moderne*—that is, humanities without classics—to raise the level of their studies. Laval has organised a superior normal school for teachers and the Montreal university has vacation classes for those in the active teaching profession. Thus primary education is rising towards colleges and universities while these are meeting the schools half-way, giving unity and strength to educational forces, nay, to the national life.

In this educational activity there is much done outside of direct teaching. In almost all the normal schools, even for girls, there are pedagogic circles and debating societies. They have the Association of the Catholic Teachers of Montreal,[74] the Association of Women Catholic Teachers of the same city,[75] and the Quebec Association of Women Catholic Teachers,[76] the district of Quebec Association of Teachers of the Laval Normal School, the *Cercle pédagogique Morissette*,[77] and the *Cercle pédagogique Roy*.[78] A very important society is the Association of School Inspectors,[79] though not more so than that of the principals of the normal schools of the province.[80] Congresses and conventions not a few have been held. Monastic teachers are far from isolated in the great world of education. They have their eyes turned upon their own work and even upon that of Protestants. In 1915, as St. Pascal, over 80 sisters and lay teachers gathered to study domestic science.[81] During the same summer, 300 teachers of the Order of St. Viator met, during a week, to hear timely discussions of practical

[74] *L'Ens. prim.*, 1913, p. 21.
[75] *Ibid.*, p. 22.
[76] *Ibid.*, 1915, p. 276.
[77] *Ibid.*, p. 635.
[78] *Ibid.*, 1916, p. 267.
[79] *Ibid.*, 1917, p. 400.
[80] *Ibid.*, 1914, p. 145.
[81] *Ibid.*, 1915, p. 329.

school questions.[82] There are also meetings of former students of various institutions.

The religious life in the normal school loses nothing of its early intensity. More than two hundred of the students of the Laval Normal School have entered various sisterhoods. The Laval school for men has seen more than sixty-six of its students become ecclesiastics, and, after graduation, teachers in the colleges.[83] This strenuous religious life is kept up by what Protestants would call "revivals" in various forms. Thus one sees notices like the following: "The Catholic women teachers of Quebec announce the holding of a *retraite fermée*." [84] This is held in a convent, where they have a brief period of intense religious exercises, devoted to meditation and prayer, which can only deepen the sense of their professional responsibility. A similar invitation was given to the Catholic Normal School for teachers, in a convent in Montreal.[85] A great pressure is here brought to bear upon them to make them feel that religion in their work is paramount. In reality, these retreats do not differ in purpose from the conferences for Protestant girl students at Silver Bay, New York, and at Northfield, Massachusetts, only the emotional side is more pronounced. In Canada as in the United States, these gatherings are voluntary and, among Catholics, as among some Protestant bodies, the religious spirit is the touchstone of usefulness. In this educational movement we have not so much attempted to show the development of a system, as the expansion of a new life.

This life itself has been a great pedagogic force, helped by the influence of the colleges, the seminaries, and the numerous lectures which they give. The pulpit is more and more educative, and so is the press, whose circulation increases rapidly. The St. Jean-Baptiste Societies have their

[82] *L'Ens. prim.*, p. 328.
[83] Magnan, p. 201.
[84] *L'Ens. prim.*, 1914, p. 619.
[85] *Ibid.*, p. 631.

conférences, lectures, classes; distribute tracts and coloured prints to teach history to the masses. Night schools are very numerous. The Council of Arts and Manufactures do a kindred work in keeping with their aims. There are the libraries of various associations of working-men. Travel does much. The French Canadian, even the unlettered, learns more from conversation and his social life than his British fellow-subject of the same social grade. We are here in presence of a great constructive movement which will more and more transform the masses and bring into full relief their latent energy. It is no small tribute to their primary schools that, at the Paris Exposition in 1900, they were awarded a *Grand Prix.*[86] This steady, calm and resistless movement might have as its keynote the words of Hugo: *"Ni halte, ni hâte!"*

[86] Mathieu, p. 18.

CHAPTER XVII

HIGHER EDUCATION

MGR. LAVAL founded, in 1663, the oldest seminary of North America from which, two centuries later, were to spring the French universities of Lower Canada. Five years later was opened the *Petit Séminaire.*[1] The aim of this foundation was to furnish a better preparation for theology in the *Séminaire,* and, at the same time, provide a good secondary education for lay students. The bishop, at first, attempted what was pressing; namely, to prepare men capable of doing some religious teaching and to administer the sacraments, but he knew that this was inadequate for anything like real theological studies. The new preparatory school gave an adequate basis for such work and in some ways contributed to the formation of future colleges which, in our day, have reached the number of twenty-one.[2]

The evolution of the French Canadian college is not unlike that of the American. "It was," says Dr. Colby, "among the first functions of Harvard to train ministers for work among the savages, and to educate those of them who could be brought into the way of higher learning. Dartmouth College, in New Hampshire, was, by origin, a missionary institution"; [3] and so it was with many denominational colleges, to train pastors for the churches. The teaching staff and the classes were small. Harvard, about 1640, had a president and two tutors.[4] The Rev. John Williams,

[1] Abbé C. Roy, *L'Université Laval,* p. 360.
[2] *Statistiques de l'enseignement,* 1919, p. 125.
[3] *Canadian Types,* p. 84.
[4] Douglas, p. 336.

the pastor of Deerfield, Massachusetts, who was carried away to Canada during the French and Indian wars, graduated in 1683 in a class of three.[5] In 1731, there was a proposal to organise a college in Montreal with two professors.[6] McGill started with a Faculty of Arts consisting of the principal and two professors.[7] When Professor Benjamin Silliman, in 1819, visited the University of Vermont it had a president, one professor, and two tutors.[8] Dartmouth had three professors in its school of medicine, and its president and two tutors in the academic departments.[9] French Canadian colleges had the further disadvantage of being separated from the sources of continental culture. They lacked almost everything. "During my college course," says Abbé Casgrain, "the students were obliged to write with their own hands the manuals of *belles-lettres,* of rhetoric, of natural sciences, etc., intended for their classes. Books were rare and it was difficult to get them even for gold." [10] Furthermore, duties were levied even on imported schoolbooks.

The colleges were, from the first, intensely literary and classical. *Belles-lettres* were, and still are, considered an elegant and beneficent discipline, training students to think rightly, and helping them to give an adequate expression to their ideas. The unevolutionary doctrine of fixity made them unfriendly to much of contemporary life, but they yielded to it. A century ago there were practices among them, now common in American colleges, considered as evidences of modernity. Thus the masters of the Petty Seminary of Quebec were taking their pupils to the House of Assembly to understand its working. In the school, they went through all the processes of preparation for elections,

[5] Rev. John Williams, *The Redeemed Captive,* p. viii.
[6] P. G. Roy, *Les petites choses, etc.,* Vol. I, p. 145.
[7] Peterson, p. 179.
[8] *Remarks Made on a Short Tour Between Hartford and Quebec, p.* 382.
[9] *Ibid.,* p. 388.
[10] Vol. I, p. 405.

hustings, etc., and did what American students do now in many colleges. It was there that Papineau, a mere boy, made a display of eloquence which foreshadowed his forensic powers.[11] As early as 1848, the students of the seminary, with their professors, published *L'Abeille*, a weekly[12] of some importance.

Lord Durham speaks as follows of French Canadian colleges: "The education given in these establishments greatly resembles the kind given in the English public schools," that is, such as Eton, Harrow, and Rugby, "though it is rather more varied. It is entirely in the hands of the Catholic clergy. The number of pupils in these establishments is estimated altogether at about a thousand; and they turn out every year, as far as I could ascertain, between two and three hundred young men thus educated." [13] As he compares the two peoples, he says, "With respect to the more educated classes, the superiority is not so general or apparent; indeed, from all information that I could collect, I incline to think that the great amount of refinement, of speculative thought, and of the knowledge that books can give, is, with some brilliant exceptions, to be found among the French." [14] It is still so. Their colleges have become a dominant educational force with 695 ecclesiastics and 47 laymen as professors. In 1922, pupils reached the number of 8,592, 6,030 of whom took the classical course and 2,585 the commercial.[15] Almost all these students are in residence, and thereby come in constant contact with their devoted teachers, nearly one for every ten students, and are closely watched. The principle of trustfulness, so extensively displayed in Protestant schools, does not avail here.

Dr. Parmelee, as usual, has given us an impartial opinion

[11] De Gaspé, *Mémoires*, p. 246.
[12] P. Gagnon, *Essai de Bibliographie canadienne*, Vol. I, p. 1.
[13] Durham, p. 19. [14] *Ibid.*, p. 29.
[15] *Statistiques de l'enseignement*, 1921-1922, p. 130

concerning these secondary schools. "These classical colleges have always been the pride of the French Canadian race, and they have furnished the leading Frenchmen of the province for many generations with an education that has well fitted them for professional and for public life. The courses of study and the teaching are especially strong in the humanities, philosophy and *belles-lettres*." [16] Dr. W. H. Moore, comparing the students of these institutions with those of Anglo-Canadian schools, draws the following conclusion: "At Ottawa, the seat of the Federal Government, the graduates of the two systems meet upon common ground and comparisons are inevitable. The French Canadian is not the man with the inferior education. On the floor of Parliament, where, in an exceptional debate, keen analysis and quick wit are required, and a knowledge of history and philosophy is useful, the French Canadian, educated in the church school, can hold his own with or against the English Canadian instructed in the state school." [17]

Mr. Arthur Hawkes speaks of the gathering in Ottawa of "French and English all mixed together, and nobody could have picked them out one from the other, except when a French speech was being made, and the applause could only come from those who understood it. All the French speakers were fluent in English. That was a great eye-opener for our people. Everybody came away with his prejudice against our fellow-Canadians removed, altogether or in great part." [18] There is a great dynamic impression made upon Anglo-Canadians when the educated son of the soil turns with ease from his native tongue to English, or vice versa, and speaks to each man in his own tongue. Naturally gentle, he has been tutored to social forms and manners, giving him an advantage when he comes in touch with other nationalities. His personality has not

[16] *Education in the Province of Quebec*, p. 57.
[17] *The Clash*, p. 120.
[18] *The Birthright*, p. 300.

been so developed from within as formed from without. The ideal of his education has not been so much to make him the creator as the preserver of value; not so much to develop originality as his capacity to conform to existing high standards.

French Canada is the land of self-made men. Most of them could not have risen had it not been for their colleges, the tuition of which has placed this type of education within the reach of earnest boys. Until recently all the expenses scarcely came to one hundred dollars a year. They were often less than that. Of late there has been a rise, but most of the colleges, with few exceptions, still have board and tuition ranging from $140 to $175.[19] St. Sulpice College and Ste. Marie, in Montreal, are a little higher. This inexpensiveness is due to the great spirit of consecration of the religious professors who, for their services, receive their board and $110 a year, which is scarcely enough to pay for their clothing.[20] If the French Canadian has not laid his hand upon the material wealth of the country as the Anglo-Saxons have, he has wonderfully used that rich vein of an almost limitless altruism, the consecration of his clergy, both regular and secular. However, important as this education is, it has not the practical character of Protestant colleges, and does not sufficiently put the student in contact with modern life. It is yet too bookish and traditional.

Abbé Casgrain speaks of "the lack of that practical sense, so developed among our neibhbours, and not enough among us. The same deficiency was felt in the College of Ste. Anne at the time of our classical course." [21] Jean Rivard, in the book of that name, bemoans the fact that at college he learned nothing about botany or birds. According to Chauveau, Abbé Holmes and Abbé Casault understood the

[19] *Almanach du peuple*, 1920, p. 192.
[20] Abbé C. Roy, *Cinquantenaire de l'Université Laval*, p. 263.
[21] Vol. II, p. 450.

necessity of giving a more modern character to college studies. Physical sciences received more attention, but they are still waiting for their true place in that education. Greek was introduced and English was taken up more vigorously.[22] For a time the language of the conquerors was not taught. "Was it not," says Dr. De Celles, "the language of error, the organ of Protestantism?" [23] The Ursulines of Quebec first began to teach it in 1798.[24] Since then its use has received an important extension. The catalogues of the universities and colleges show that great attention is given to English methods, to English high school and to English university standards.[25] Many of the courses are given in French or in English, but either language may be used at examinations.[26] Most of the affiliated colleges lay stress upon the language of Shakespeare.[27] Parents demand it.

With its essential limitations, the college is the most perfect institution of French Canada.[28] Of course it is deeply Catholic. Its intense training is not favorable to mental spontaneity. Religion which binds knowledge with life is the ground-work of its teaching. The people and the clergy refuse to admit religious uncertainty in the education of the young, but in spite of that it has undergone great modifications. The so-called commercial colleges, a concession to the progressive spirit, give a place, second to none, to the essential cultural elements of education. They are vastly superior in educative qualities to institutions of that name in the United States. Several of the teaching Orders have entered with great energy into this field. A step in the same direction is the college for young women organised by *Les Dames de la Congrégation* in Montreal. Very dif-

[22] *L'Abbé Holmes*, p. 6.
[23] *Canada and Its Provinces*, Vol. XV, p. 9.
[24] Josephine Holmes, p. 379.
[25] *Annuaire de l'Université Laval*, 1917-1918.
[26] *Ibid.*, pp. 154, 199, 207, 211, 215, 236, 263, and 266.
[27] *Ibid.*, pp. 200-204.
[28] Mathieu, p. 19.

ferent from the American institutions of the same kind, it remains connected with the convent where it was organised, and intellectually vivifies the rest of the institution.

Towards the end of the first half of the nineteenth century, the most intelligent French Canadians who began to have faith in their national survival, faith in their national historiography and literature, felt the need of a university to quicken their life, to raise and deepen the work of their schools, colleges, and seminaries, as well as to prepare young men for professional vocations. The thought that their youth went to English and American schools, and that McGill College gave promise of growth,[29] were doubtless considerations of no little moment. An appeal of the clergy was made to the Quebec Seminary, whose resources are extensive, to found such an institution. It was well known that their spirit of sacrifice was as great as their wealth. Finances were not the only difficulties in the way. They had to secure the approval of the British Government. They sent Abbé Casault, the superior of the seminary, to London for that purpose, and a charter was granted in 1852.[30] Then this distinguished gentleman had to proceed to Rome to secure the approval of the Holy See. The Vatican only allowed a special brief, giving power to the archbishop of Quebec to grant degrees to the theological students of the proposed university. Abbé Roy, in his able book, speaking of "the solicitude of the Holy Father" for the school, is obliged to state that it was only in 1876 that the papal charter was granted.[31] Victoria responded at once, but it took a quarter of a century for the Pope to do as much. The University of Toronto was opened in 1843. McGill really began its university history in 1855, though

[29] Cyrus Macmillan, *McGill and Its Story*, p. 184.
[30] Abbé C. Roy, *L'Université Laval*, p. 21; A. Fauteux, *Bibliographie de la question universitaire Laval*, Montreal, p. 232.
[31] *Ibid.*, p. 90.

as a struggling secondary school it commenced its work thirty-four years before. The Quebec superior school was inaugurated in 1854, and took the name of Laval University.

This institution of learning is primarily Ultramontane, though at times it has had in its body distinguished English Protestant professors.[32] When in 1811, the Hon. James McGill gave the land and funds to erect a university it was to be called "University of McGill College." [33] Laval might properly have been called "University of the Quebec Seminary." The superior of that institution is *de facto* its rector. He is elected for three years and may be re-elected once only.[34] Former rectors remain members of the University Council which is composed of retired superiors of the seminary and of three of the oldest professors of each faculty. Above them is the Superior Council composed of all the prelates of the province. As the members of this last body average over sixty years of age, one may naturally expect from them a most conservative policy. Laval has faculties of theology, law, medicine, and arts.

The atmosphere of Quebec, with all its historic charm, its epic glow, and its refinement, lacks the stimulating influence of the great university centres of the world. The attitude of some of the best families of the city is not absolutely friendly to the larger university life. Baron Hulot says that the city, confined in its ancient memories, sees with regret liberal arts yield to industry and commerce.[35] It has certainly produced the greater part of the French Canadian writers of the past. In Abbé Camille Roy's beautiful poetic prose Quebec claims "the glory of better symbolising, of showing in a better way and of causing to shine the French soul and the French life." [36] It is a city

[32] Molinari, p. 124; Langelier, Vol. I, p. 217.
[33] Meilleur, p. 130.
[34] Abbé C. Roy, *L'Université Laval*, p. 34.
[35] *De l'Atlantic au Pacifique*, p. 159.
[36] *Propos Canadiens*, p. 162.

of devout and earnest men and women, but whose spirit is not friendly to free scientific inquiry, scientific research, and the scientific activity of the great universities of the world. "It was impossible," says the same writer, "to make place for the higher teaching of science," [87] because the students were not prepared, but were the professors? In fact, even then the McGill scientific teaching, which has since become so momentous, did not exist.

Laval, wishing to improve its staff of professors, sent students to Paris and to other European centers to prepare them for future work. The aim was to secure valuable additions to French Canadian learning. Such experiences are often disappointing. The candidates were mostly young ecclesiastics who did not all come up to the expectations of those who sent them. The university was too poor to import learned European professors, scholars, and scientists as did McGill and Toronto. Alexis Carrel, who has since made such remarkable discoveries, knocked in vain at the door of the French Canadian University, but received a warm welcome at the Rockefeller Foundation. The fact is that the Laval professors hardly receive any compensation for their services. Dr. James Douglas who, in his early life, was a student there and had great admiration for his teachers, quoting Mgr. Hamel, says "the greatest income of the seminary is a negative one, and consists in the fact that thirty priests, who are employed as professors in the university and in the college, give all their time and energy without remuneration. They have their board with heat and light, and are allowed $10 per month for clothing, mending, and washing: this is all. The superior of the seminary who is *de jure* the principal of the university receives no other salary." [88]

Consecration will ever remain a creative and crowning

[87] Abbé C. Roy, *L'Université Laval*, p. 39.
[88] *New England and New France*, p. 387.

virtue of Christian service, but in the principle as applied in this university conducive to the highest usefulness. The professors cannot buy books, instruments of research, cannot travel to see the work of others, or put themselves in relation with the whole of their environment. One is astonished to hear one of their professors candidly comparing Laval with Harvard or with Oxford. Most of them are not acquainted with the realities of the great educational world outside of the Roman Catholic horizon. Cardinal Bégin is reported to have compared the memoranda of the principal of McGill and of Toronto, which are large, with the letter a year of the rector of this university. He failed to see that these men are exceptional, chosen from groups of well known and tried educators, with a large philosophical and scientific grasp of the modern problems of education; men who had been in practical contact with the most efficient universities of the world; that they dispense a large hospitality, cultivate personal and social relations with professors and students, and thereby can make their university a strong living organism which vitalizes the great social body. The law of secrecy is in the way of the progress of mankind, but it must seek the most rational use of opportunities.

In fact, this is really what the university is now attempting to do. It has appealed to its public for help, and from that source $1,500,000 was contributed and the Parliament added $1,000,000. The visible result of these resources was a new impetus to their School of Forestry, to the Superior Normal School, the foundation of the School of Chemistry, which looked like a specialised school of experimental sciences, the introduction of the teaching of political economy, German, Italian, and Spanish. It has imported professors from France for higher work in Greek, Latin, and French. From the university of Fribourg, Switzerland, it has secured several scientific professors. The professional

staff has been largely increased. Apart from lecturing in their classes, to which they draw many law students, following studies of French literature, these professors give courses open to the public which cannot but quicken intellectually the university environment.

The relations existing between the seminary and the university are symbolised by the buildings which are clustered together, connected by many corridors, which leave an impression not wholly cheerful. The architecture of the university proper, larger and fine, is of the best French style of the seventeenth century. It contains much of fascinating interest. It has the finest collection of pictures in Canada, which, as Mr. Hopkins states, "is an education in itself,"[39] including the rich assemblage of pictures by Legaré. The library with its 200,000 volumes, its many rare works, has about 30,000 original manuscripts relating to Canada under French rule.[40] This is a favourite place for historical investigators, but recent books and the leading reviews are not sufficiently represented, and it is not organised to help students to work. Every time the writer visited it, it was deserted and the art gallery equally so. There is unquestionably a lack of strenuous university life and enthusiasm for work. This deficiency has its roots in other institutions, and mostly in the primary schools and homes. Abbé Camille Roy does not hesitate to speak of the "intellectual laziness" of French Canadian writers. Professor Louis Arnould, speaking of students, seems to agree with the distinguished abbé. Professor Edouard Montpetit and Professor Ernest Marceau have spoken almost in the same sense.[41]

In addition to disabilities of various sorts, there was long in Quebec as in Montreal, an excessive demand made upon professors. Abbé Jean Holmes had classes in almost

[39] French Canada, p. 370.
[40] *Royal Society*, III, Vol. X, p. L.
[41] *Revue trimestrielle canadienne, 1918*, p. 416.

all the subjects taught in the university.[42] Even recently, Abbé Vachon was professor of geology and mineralogy in the university, of chemistry in the affiliated School of Surveying, of chemistry and natural sciences in the affiliated School of Forestry, and professor of chemistry, mineralogy, geology, and zoology in the seminary. It was nearly the same thing in McGill half a century ago and until the days of its opulence. Yet the Laval professors did a work which is amazing. Abbé Ferland shed new light upon Canadian history in his classes, and left us his *Cours d'histoire du Canada* which is noteworthy.[43] Abbé C. H. Laverdière published the *Relations of the Jesuits* in 1870. Abbé L. N. Bégin, now Cardinal Bégin, issued his lectures upon ecclesiastical history. Mgr. Paquet, a very superior man, called by some the *Docteur de la pensée canadienne,* has published important works among which is his *Droit public de l'Eglise.* Mgr. Amédée Gosselin has fathomed deeper than any other man the educational life of the French régime. The Hon. Thomas Chapais has written masterly studies upon French Canada. Abbé Arthur Robert has published several volumes of didactic philosophy. The university enables its professors to do work in the realm of letters.

Montrealers, after a while, wishing to have a university of their own, appealed to Rome. They pleaded for it, fought for it, with great intensity. There was considerable bitterness in the contention. In the book which Abbé Camille Roy devoted to the history of Laval, there are frequent references to "the polemics of former days," to "the difficult and perilous hours," and to "fights." The *Bibliographie de la question universitaire Laval-Montréal,* by M. Ægidius Fauteux, shows that the conflict between the two cities was violent and bitter. Senator David speaks of *une lutte de*

[42] Chauveau, *L'Abbé Holmes,* p. 14.
[43] Abbé C. Roy, *L'Université Laval,* p. 71.

corsaires.[44] This was complicated by political prejudice; the Castors, extreme conservatives, attempted to cast doubt upon the orthodoxy of the rector and professors.[45] What ignorance or bad faith most of these men have displayed who attempted to throw discredit upon the soundness of doctrines of men more orthodox than the Pope himself, and to accuse them of having Free-masons among them.[46] The learned Mgr. Hamel and even Archbishop Taschereau, later on first cardinal of Canada, were represented as belonging to Masonic lodges. Their great crime was that two Protestants, Drs. Sewell and Jackson, were professors in the School of Medicine.[47] The battle was an intense one. At last the Vatican really gave a favourable answer to both, though on the surface it appeared to favour the Quebec remonstrants. To Montreal was granted a branch of Laval, and in 1919, a virtually independent university.[48] Finally the Montreal University became absolutely autonomous.

These two universities are not colonial Sorbonnes, transplanted with their great past into Canada, enjoying limitless wealth, and able to build at first an ideal institution. They are not self-satisfied, self-exulting, thinking that theirs are the best universities in the best of worlds. They are perfectly aware of their limitations. The professors make ceaseless pleas for advance, for more modern culture, for stricter tests for degrees.[49] The Montreal University has revised and expanded its courses in science, *belles-lettres*, and other subjects. More lay professors are secured, though ecclesiastical professors represent the larger part of their teaching force. It must be said that, as far as instruction is concerned, and bearing in mind results, it is at least equal

[44] *L'Union*, p. 151.
[45] Langelier, Vol. I, p. 122.
[46] *Ibid.*, pp. 35, 167, 170, 209, 215.
[47] *Ibid.*, p. 217.
[48] David, *Hist. du Canada*, p. 164; Abbé C. Roy, p. 88.
[49] Abbé C. Roy, *L'Université Laval*, p. 198; *Nouveaux Essais*, p. 285.

to the best among Anglo-Canadians prior to the days of their remarkable opulence.

The backbone of the work is theology. The courses in divinity cover the ground of Roman Catholic doctrines and history. The program is not a fearless study of religious problems, looking into every realm for evidences, sustaining rationally the claims of religion, but it is dogmatic and conservative, though abundant bits of modernity penetrate it. The lessons and examinations are in Latin.[50] As an exercise in dialectics this constant mental exchange from one language into another must be of great profit, even though we feel that the continuous attempt to adjust their language to all facts of religious life and of modern theology would be more valuable. French Canadian institutions were first in introducing the philosophy of Thomas Aquinas which, in Catholic schools, is the basis of all philosophical instruction. It is rare to find, in the writings of their priests, evidences of an extensive familiarity with Plato, Descartes, Locke, John Stuart Mill, Spencer, William James, Renouvier, Fouillée, Boutroux, Bergson, and other prominent philosophical minds of to-day.

The purpose of the faculty of theology is to prepare devoted priests for their ministry, men capable of the greatest surrender of selfhood to the church. These universities do not open larger avenues of truth, but channels for the diffusion of a definite and final body of doctrines. Abbé Roy deplores that the needs of the churches draw many students away from advanced theological studies. Most of the prelates do all they can to have seminarists better educated and to earn higher degrees. However, in fifty years the Quebec Laval has graduated only twenty-five bachelors in Canon Law, fifty-nine bachelors, thirty-eight licentiates, and thirty doctors of theology.[51] In the

[50] *Annuaire de l'Université Laval de Montréal,* 1917-1918, p. 42.
[51] Abbé C. Roy, *L'Université Laval,* p. 101.

Montreal Laval, now the Montreal University, in thirty-nine years, only twenty-six have taken their degree of bachelor of theology, nine licentiates, and only three attained the doctorate of theology.[52] It must be added that the best of these students, later on, spend some time in Rome or Paris.

The schools of law are important, and peculiarly adapted to the spirit and wants of the province. Every year sees the strengthening of their courses, and, perhaps, improvement in the situation of their law practitioners, who are very numerous, to meet the need of the province. French Canadians of the upper strata of society have a natural aptitude for the purely legal aspect of the profession. Many have left it for that of politics in which they have rendered conspicuous services to the Dominion. There are those among them who enjoy a fairly large patronage from the British. Some, among whom was Laurier, did their work at McGill which has not only French Canadian students, but also French Canadian professors on its staff.

The two French universities are also important centres of medical studies. No form of education is more needed than to popularise sounder ideas of hygiene, to face all the ills of the people, to reduce the death-rate, and above all to dispel physical superstition. Since 1885 the death-rate has been noticeably decreased.[53] This is particularly true of infantile mortality. The work of the medical schools has been buttressed by the French Medical Society of Canada, founded in 1897, and whose first congress was attended by nearly 400 French Canadian doctors. The students of Quebec have to spend five years, those of Montreal six, in the faculties to secure their doctorate.

Of all the educational work of French Canada it is probably in this field that there has been the greatest scientific progress, and one which affects all biological studies.

[52] *Annuaire de l'Université Laval de Montréal*, 1917-1918, p. 49.
[53] *Statistical Year-Book of Quebec*, 1917, p. 82.

They have in Montreal an important School of Comparative Medicine, the existence of which in itself marks an advance. That of Dental Surgery is one of the finest on the continent, whether one looks at the home of the school, at the faculty or to the students. Nothing inspires more hope for the future than the bright young men coming into this field. A large proportion of them have had a college course prior to their entering here. The School of Pharmacy is also doing fine work. It has trained druggists of repute.

The Montreal University has also an important department of applied sciences, the polytechnic school, with a good, though modest, equipment.[54] Apart from its direct results, this *Ecole politechnique* will tend to infuse into the minds of French Canadians more practical ideas. However, its graduates are not satisfied with what has been done. In 1917, they insisted upon the necessity of developing "studies of sociology and political economy." [55] Their wishes have been realised by the creation of faculties of Letters and Sciences, a School of Social, Economic, and Political Sciences whose work will have far-reaching consequences.[56] One is gratified by the new generation of scholars brought into this section, Abbé L. Perrin, Edouard Montpetit, Léon Mercier Gouin, Fernand Rinfret, Emile Miller, and others, all but one representing a most valuable lay element. We merely recall the affiliation of the Agricultural Institute of Oka and the School of High Commercial Studies with the Montreal University. There is also a *Cours de perfectionnement professionel* for the professors of affiliated colleges, and vacation classes for primary teachers.

This higher education movement in French Canada has yielded to the demands of our time and entered into the

[54] Errol Bouchette, *Emparons nous de l'industrie*, p. 27.
[55] *La Revue trimestrielle*, Vol. IX, p. 1.
[56] *Université de Montréal*, 1920-1921, p. 177.

current of college and university work for women. The universities open cautiously, but open, the possibility of higher culture to them. When we reflect that a large number of young women go to normal schools, that they have entered the field of journalism and literature, the new departure has the utmost significance. A similar interpretation must be put upon the courses of Modern Secondary Teaching. It offers a good course meant for the laity and the members of the teaching Orders.[57] Both of these departures have brought convents and monasteries into the currents of university action. The Marist Brothers, the Brothers of Christian Instruction, and the Brothers of the Holy Cross have now the benefit of this larger teaching.

They have organisations which affect the practical life of the students. During the war the Montreal Laval created a military hospital on the front in France, providing 1,040 beds, with 32 physicians, 72 nurses, and 195 attendants.[58] The Quebec Laval has a branch of the St. Vincent de Paul, with a course upon charities, the fruits of which are to be seen in the practice of the students.[59] That of Montreal has a club known as the Students' House for students at large, a Laval Club for law students, and their Pasteur Club for those of the School of Medicine. Similar organisations exist in various colleges and at the Oka Institute. There are potent influences extending from these centres and unifying all forms of education. In 1906 a congress of professors in secondary schools took place in Quebec with eighty delegates from colleges and seminaries.[60] These congresses have been repeated.[61] In one of them twenty colleges were represented.[62]

The universities are quickening the vital elements of the

[57] *Ibid.*, p. 279.
[58] *Annuaire, Montréal*, 1917-1918, p. 432.
[59] Abbé C. Roy, *L'Université Laval*, p. 108.
[60] *Ibid., Propos Canadiens*, p. 210.
[61] *L'Ens. prim.*, 1914, p. 2.
[62] *Ibid.*, 1915, p. 329.

intellectual life of the country, concentrating all educational forces and uniting all the schools under their leadership. Montreal has affiliated ten colleges and Quebec has established similar relations with the others. The movement has not said its last word. So far it has broken the isolation of all the schools, enriched their teaching, standardised studies, raised the standards, introduced the principle of a rational hierarchy of all forms of teaching and vitalised them. What is far more important, it is a change which is tantamount to an educational revolution. The Montreal University is quite different from the Montreal Laval. It is still Catholic in principle, religious in spirit, but administered mostly by laymen. In the executive there are only two clergymen and five persons representing the laity, though the body will be religiously moved by the same educational ideal. The chancellor is the large-hearted archbishop of Montreal, the rector a thoroughly modern man, Bishop Gauthier, and the president, a layman, Sir Lomer Gouin.

What is of importance is that great interest in this higher education has been created. The Quebec Government has done nobly for the colleges and universities. The "drives" made among French Canadians for Laval and Montreal were successful, if we bear in mind the limitations of the resources of the people. They elicited but a very limited support among English-speaking Canadians—they came at a bad time—when repeated they will bring a more generous response. The Rockefeller Foundation has twice given $25,000 for scientific work. The professors of these universities have been helped by their contact with some of the sister institutions south of them, and they derive valuable lessons from all English-speaking higher educational bodies.[63] Delegates from Quebec and Montreal were present at the Congress of the universities of the empire in

[63] *Le Canada français*, December, 1922, p. 270.

Oxford, two years ago, where they had been preceded by French Canadian Rhodes scholars. Continental universities are also bringing in the larger world culture and enriching the life of French Canada.

CHAPTER XVIII

EMINENT FRENCH CANADIANS

UNDER the influence of their social environments and of their cultural institutions, French Canadians have evolved an élite of great distinction, represented by various groups and individuals, most of whom come in contact with the British and the wider world life. This class, even when it has been open to the best English influences and to some extent has yielded to English ways, leans strongly for its intellectual inspiration on the side of France, though it draws much from both sources. Here, as in other phases of the national life, the social spirit is very strong. The atmosphere is impregnated with a delightful social refinement. We have shown what that spirit is among the rural masses, but it is especially choice in this realm which excels in general ideas and in the art of conversation. There is refinement and dignified diction among the ecclesiastics, the professors of colleges and universities, as well as among individuals who have been elevated to important national services.

Intellectual and often religious affinities brought them together. Abbé Casgrain has spoken of a group which gathered at Crémazie's book-store in the city of Quebec, showing us Garneau, the coming historian; Etienne Parent, later on under-secretary of state; Abbé Ferland, who brilliantly taught history at Laval; P. J. O. Chauveau, future prime minister of the province, as well as man of letters; J. C. Taché, a publicist and political man who represented

Canada at the Paris Exposition of 1855; Fréchette, whom Longfellow called "the pathfinder of a new land of song"; [1] Le May, the future translator of *Evangeline,* and Gérin-Lajoie, the author of *Jean Rivard.* These men, discussing all subjects, or indulging in captivating *causeries,* were especially interested in art and literature.[2]

These intellectualists were held together by their great love of what could contribute to the national development. They set aside all formalities of organisations, had gatherings resembling a French salon rather than a club. They indulged in almost all kinds of tilts of opinions with amazing freedom, at least as much as was possible in the country and permitted by good manners. Faucher de Saint-Maurice has made us envious of the men who met at Dr. Bender's house in Quebec.[3] To this gentleman we owe two most interesting books, *Literary Sheaves* and *Old and New Canada,* in which he brings out the former ways, and gives us a fine narrative of the life of J. F. Perrault, an enthusiast on education. In these meetings, in a home of royal hospitality, the select members had feasts of social and literary communion.

The *Monde Illustré* of Montreal in 1892 had a group of young contributors who, later on, under the leadership of Jean Charbonneau, organised the *École littéraire* of that city. The members of this society, founded upon the broadest possible basis, possessed various talents and no little enthusiasm. Fréchette gave it his support during the last days of his career. Others of this assemblage were Charles Gill, a gifted painter as well as a poet; Gonzalve Désaulniers, also a poet and a judge; E. Z. Massicotte, archivist of the Montreal Court, an untiring folklorist, a man ever ready to serve any cause affecting the good name of his nationality; Jean Charbonneau, already mentioned,

[1] Drummond, *The Habitant,* p. v. [2] Casgrain, Vol. II, p. 339.
[3] *Loin du pays,* Vol. II, p. 12.

poet and critic, recently honoured by the French Academy with a prize of 10,000 francs for his work, *Les Influences françaises au Canada,* though he remains for us the poet of *Les Blessures,* a creative type of mind. Seventeen members of this organisation have left an important volume of their literary contributions, entitled *Les Soirées du Château Ramezay.* The château is the historic landmark in the city where they held their meetings. Theodore Bentzon speaks of a society of ladies meeting in the same place.[1] Various literary and national organisations discuss matters of large human interest.

They have their French Canadian medical association which stands for the professional advancement of its members and the progress of medical science. In Montreal, Dr. Louis de Lotbinière Harwood invited to his house many of his colleagues whom he had met in Paris, and others who were there later on, for *causeries* upon the great field of their common interest, which have been most beneficial. Their social sense and their love of conversation not only strengthen the social tie but contribute potently to the spreading of scientific knowledge among them and create a more scientific atmosphere among their colleagues. This social affinity shows itself, also, in groupings around newspapers and especially reviews. *Le Canada français* associates men of Laval University. The *Revue canadienne,* now disappearing, represents a fine selection of the best French Canadian life. Its fifty official directors and contributors, men of culture, constituted a group of distinction and character, among whom clergymen were predominant. They were mostly professors of the Montreal University. We have already spoken of the *Revue trimestrielle canadienne,* the organ of the Association of Alumni of the Polytechnic School of Montreal. We could mention other publications, all of which are centres of certain opinions and

[1] *La Nouvelle France et la Nouvelle Angleterre,* p. 207.

service—never of economic relation—as well as indices of an altruistic culture.

The highest stratum of French Canadian society, loyal to Great Britain and intensely Canadian, is considerably absorbed with things of France; more fond of Parisian art than that of French Canada, and quite severe in its judgments upon its own artists. Many of the books of the Motherland, the best reviews, the ablest newspapers are read, naturally with a leaning towards the *Revue des Deux Mondes* and *Le Correspondant;* some are satisfied with the *Revue hebdomadaire.* They are familiar with the artistic and literary merits of *L'Illustration* and the popular charm of *Les Annales.* Some few appreciate *Le Temps,* the *Journal des Débats,* and the lighter set delight in the æsthetic and, at times, frivolous pages of *Le Figaro.* This does not exclude their own publications nor the American and English ones. In their homes one meets people of wide human sympathies and traditional training, of intellectual liveliness and ardour, brilliant in conversation, scintillant with wit, taking one on a go-as-you-please of ideas. Strangers have been attracted by the unfailing charm of this society.

It was the good fortune of the writer to meet, several times, Senator Dandurand and to see him with his friends in his Montreal home. He is interested in all the larger problems of the Dominion and of his own province. Generous with his own people, he is sufficiently large-hearted to have remembered McGill University in one of its drives. Among his guests, he started a most captivating *causerie* upon the religious spirit of his people, insisting all along that, though very loyal to their church, French Canadians are essentially tolerant, that there is among them a strain of liberalism which does not exist even in France, that they are ready to move towards a more independent education, not irreligious, nor even unreligious, but directed by lay agencies, leaving religious instruction proper to the clergy. From

this vital subject the company passed to others including politics and journalism, seen in their larger aspects. In his part of the conversation, he displayed a singular alertness and animation as well as an elegant French. At times his way was *"Glissez, mortels, n'appuyez pas,"* at others it was *"Appuyez, mortels, ne glissez pas."* We speak elsewhere of the literary work of Mme. Dandurand and of her uncommon book, *Nos Travers.*

We met Senator Belcourt at the table of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, whose friend he was, a high-minded, liberal, and accomplished gentleman. Here he displayed the mental elasticity and spontaneity of a well-trained political man, but with a certain self-restraint and reserve, though not so striking as that of Anglo-Canadians. He has ever been conciliatory and ready to go more than half-way with the descendants of the conquerors. He has fraternised with them, spoken in their churches, attended their various gatherings, and has even shown a great spirit of concord towards them which has not always been reciprocated. He has played a conspicuous part in defending French Canadians against their opponents in the Ontario French school question, and in explaining their position at the time of the war. The level of culture of these senators is high. In listening to them one is astonished that these men who have broken so completely with their political past can at once be so French and, in their parliamentary spirit, so English.

While the men of social leadership are almost all earnest believers, one meets some of a different spirit. There are Voltairians among them, but the greater number are Freethinkers of a larger type. An evening spent with one of them was most enjoyable. It was a great pleasure to hear this gentleman speak, with a thoroughly independent attitude, of the ecclesiastical machinery of the province, of the course pursued by some of the prelates, justifying the posi-

tion of Free-thinkers with copious facts and arguments, making, however, a profession of faith in God—the whole done in a noble spirit without bitterness and with great self-command. The conversation having turned towards lit erature and poetry, he recited a poem of his own upon France, the old and the new France, and her work for the world in the Great War. It was a rare experience to pass from the survey of various phases of French Canadian life to such a happy poetic idealisation of the two countries and their part in the great world clash. This interesting Montrealer is Mr. Justice Gonzalve Désaulniers.

The test of a great personality is not a display of professional skill in its own realm of action, but the force and intelligence with which it deals with questions outside of that range. It was a great privilege to come in contact with, perhaps, the most eminent representative of the Quebec bar, a man belonging to a distinguished family of jurists, a graduate of the McGill Law School, and now a professor in the same institution, entrusted by the province and by the Dominion with most important cases of litigation, M. Aimé Geoffrion. Accustomed to reason questions of law and to formulate his conclusions with a flawless logic, he set forth the merits and demerits of his countrymen with the philosophical strength of a sociologist, the cleverness of a high-class attorney, and the earnestness of a broad-minded patriot. He does not overlook the foibles of his countrymen, but when he brings out their social and national qualities he does it brilliantly.

It would have been of priceless worth to have had the opinion of such a man upon the French Canadian bench or the bar, the position which the members occupy in their national life, their professional equipment, the form which justice has taken in the French Canadian mind, their entrance into the commercial life of the country, and kindred questions. Judge J. E. Robidoux, also a graduate of the

McGill Law School and there a professor of Civil Law for several years, a man who has filled many important positions in French and Anglo-Canadian institutions, and is now a judge of the Superior Court, gave us such information, corroborated by many others. He brought out the comparative traits of the lawyers of the province, and pointed out, in various ways, the superiority of his own kin, not in the economics of the profession, but as distinguished jurists and magistrates. The peculiar training that they receive in their colleges, their constant exercise in discursive reasoning, their better knowledge of one language and often of two, the literary culture of the imagination, give them a position of vantage. He laid stress upon the valuable theses published by students, and the books by their best men.

The gift of oratory and the cult of literary form are not confined to the groups and classes that we have mentioned, but they exist almost everywhere. Dean Louis de Lotbinière Harwood, to whom we have already referred, an eminent pupil of the well-known French surgeon of Paris, Samuel Pozzi, now at the head of the Medical School of the Montreal University, explained in a language as beautiful as it was simple, with a rich flow of concrete terms unusual among French Canadians, the progress of medical science and art in the province. He spoke with a contagious admiration of the work of his companions in France and after their return to Canada. Few among outsiders are acquainted with the earnestness of these men in introducing French methods, distinguished from those of the German which formerly monopolised the field in Canada. It is true that Sir William Osler, while he was at McGill, had attempted a reaction. No man at the time had perhaps spoken on this continent so brilliantly and so enthusiastically of the work of Pasteur and of his colleagues. The intelligent apprehension of what France had done created,

for these French Canadian doctors, a new spirit which meant added strength when it had become a part of the equipment of their profession.

Among university men one meets scholars like Abbé Camille Roy of Laval University, member of the Royal Society of Canada, editor-in-chief of *Le Canada français,* a professor with a fine literary record; at home with the literary history of France and Canada; an indefatigable worker, who clings with great devotion to his institution, although he has lacked, so far, an organised department of advanced studies of *belles-lettres,* in which he could make the highest use of his powers. One of his colleagues, the Hon. Adjutor Rivard, judge of the Court of Appeals, would be called a lecturer in a university of the United States. He is foremost among those who have studied the French language historically and philologically. His ablest book is entitled, *Etudes sur les parlers de France au Canada.* He was, if not the originator, at least the personal inspiration of the *Congrès du parler français* which excited so much interest outside of the French world. He has imparted his ardour to a group of men who are preparing a very thorough dictionary of the French of the province. One might say that they are making a linguistic inventory of the French Canadian vernacular. Here again we are in the presence of a man of a large culture, a brilliant speaker with a choice enunciation, an earnest Catholic devoted to the highest interests of language and religion, a man well worth knowing.

The choicest all-round personality in French Canada was Laurier. This extraordinary man, for many years entrusted with the leadership of the Dominion, and to the end viewed as the incorruptible statesman of Canada, was the most brilliant of its political thinkers, and a resourceful man of many parts. He had primarily what his people considered an essential French literary education which he broadened

by extensive reading of French and English legal and political writers. This gave him a wider outlook than that of Anglo-Canadians whose interest is limited to the British world. Noted for his tact and taste, he shone by a distinction akin to that of the old French higher class strengthened by some characteristics of refined English noblemen. The spring of his actions had its source in his simple goodness which welled up, clear and pure, in spite of the trying contingencies of politics. He had to an unusual degree the virtue of geniality. The charm of his deferential manners was made more potent by his sagacious moderation. Among his friends and visitors he excelled by a kindly spirit of conversation, at times brilliant, witty, with harmless bits of satire which ended where charity began. His feelings had been intellectualised, and thereby he had attained a strong command of himself. As a rule he rose above commonplace judgments; his were elevated and were his own. Never has Canada found a greater political idealist among her sons.

Sir Lomer Gouin was splendidly adapted to his Quebec environment. He may not have looked so far as Sir Wilfrid did, but his obvious field was nearer home, and in that home country he has shown his strong constructive aims, his statesmanlike instinct. He seems the incarnation of will to power, and if he is not the "Thinker" of Rodin, he could have furnished the great sculptor a model of a "Doer." Calm and comparatively slow when he speaks, there is not a useless word. In listening to him one has the impression of an intelligence and will under absolute control. Few men have a knowledge of the French Canadians equal to his, and of this he speaks most modestly. The culture of a broad-minded lawyer, enriched by valuable political experiences, has made him a great personal force in the country. Moreover, his absorbing duties have not dulled his student habits. He reads many of the best books of

France, England, and the United States. How many of the premiers of the Dominion enjoy a bilingual reading? Among his ideas the dominant one is the progress of Canada.

Foremost among Canadian leaders stands the Hon. L. A. Taschereau, now premier of Quebec. If a really illustrious birth makes a great man, he is entitled to our full admiration. Associated with the history of French Canada was his kinsman, Gabriel Elzéar Taschereau, who rendered great services in his day. The premier's father was judge of the Supreme Court. Cardinal Taschereau was his uncle. Sir Henri Taschereau, chief justice of Quebec, was his half-brother. His mother was the daughter of the Hon. R. E. Caron, so wise and courageous in a period of stress and storm. He may also be proud of his inheritance of the best traditions and culture of his native city, but for us his greatest achievement was the making of himself. He has a great capacity for work—his stepping-stone to eminence in law and politics. If he has the nobility of title—the nobility of worth he has richly—he has risen to efficiency in a democratic way, by persevering, strenuous efforts. He has attained an efficient art of speaking to his kinsmen and, as he is bilingualist, to Anglo-Canadians. He loves his province, but he is also Canadian-Canadian.

His superior trait is the power of mental concentration and of finding striking formulæ to express his ideas. Addressing the Canadian Club of Montreal, and referring to men who often speak as if the French Canadian was a stumbling-block in the life of the nation, he asserted with great authority that "Quebec was not the dividing point of the Dominion, but the uniting link between the East and the West, and the most sanely conservative province of the Dominion." [5] His address in the same city, on behalf of McGill, reveals a large synthetic view of the functions of

[5] Montreal *Gazette*, December 14, 1920.

universities. At the Toronto University he discussed with great power the impossibility of unity of legislation for the whole Dominion, to have a unity of laws, which does not exist even in the British Isles. Before clubs of the same city he made a masterly defence of French Canadians and of their noble civilisation. He rises easily to high and incontrovertible generalisations. He showed his fearlesssness in his solution of home problems—the liquor question and that of American labour unions attempting to rule over Quebec labour. On all sides it is rumoured that this statesman, this born aristocrat, is the most accessible of men; that great are his social gifts; that he has a vast erudition which is under perfect control, and that, while enjoying popular favour, he never courted the people or flattered the masses. He thinks and he dares. He wants a stainless atmosphere in his administration. His power springs from a deep religious faith, an austere sincerity, and a progressive patriotism that fits him to continue brilliantly and expand rapidly the work of Sir Lomer Gouin.

The Hon. Louis Athanase David, the son of the veteran senator and historian David, is also one of the interesting public men of Quebec. Legal families have done for French Canada what those of Protestant clergymen have—they give a broad, uplifting home education to their children. Then comes the potent influence of their colleges and their law training which is itself a great philosophical discipline. They are thereby prepared to rise to national service. That was the case with Secretary David. After his study of law and practice he gravitated towards politics in which he rapidly won distinction. In 1919, at the age of thirty-seven, he became secretary of the province. In this important office he has displayed a remarkable activity, as for him progress is not merely a word. He has been associated with much of the recent legislation, has spoken to Anglo-Canadians in other provinces, and there, also, de-

fended the federal rights of Quebec. He has done much towards developing still further the cultural education of the province, the greater expansion of intellectual forces in the direction of literature and of art. The man, the jurist, and the secretary are merged in an uncommon literary artist. Few, like him, have understood how to touch the æsthetic cords of the Quebec patriotic soul. Without detaching himself from the prosaic realities of political and material issues, he marshals a significant richness of ideas and uses the refinement of form of a prose poet. In listening to him one has a sense that there has come into the oratory of the Laurentian province a new voice, *la Voix de Quebec,*[6] which by its beauty and gentleness will move more and more the Canadian French.

Leaving popular political leaders we cannot turn aside from the man at the head of popular organisations, *persona grata* with the clergy, devoting himself to the building up of what is good, M. Victor Morin. President of the St. Jean-Baptiste societies and of the *Société historique* of Montreal, professor of administrative law at Montreal University, a member of most important societies, he serves them all with his rich gifts as a popular speaker. Reports are circulated on all sides, in Montreal, that to his tact and wisdom the citizens owe the city library, a consummation which had long been considered hopeless. He has displayed great zeal for the well-being and the æsthetic culture of Ville-Marie [7] and has been foremost among French Canadian folklorists. Merry and joyous among his fellow-workers, he is a well of national popular knowledge, bubbling over with information fortified by a wide range of reading. M. Morin is a fine specimen of the best self-made men.

French Canada has a great variety of personalities and marked characters. Whatever one may think of M. Henri

[6] See Ch. XXI, p. 287.
[7] Former name of Montreal.

Bourassa as a political leader, he is above all an able man, strong by his sincerity and by his unquestionably wide range of knowledge and his capacity to use it. Compare, for instance, his admirable address at the Lake Mohonk Conference, in 1913, with those of other distinguished orators there, and the superiority of the editor of *Le Devoir* is apparent.[8] He is an extreme particularist who is far from having the sympathy of the best elements of his kindred. He presents the contradiction of being a very conservative Catholic and almost a revolutionist in what pertains to the political history of his people. He separated himself from Laurier upon Canadian participation in the South African War, and more than any other personal influence, he contributed to the overthrow of the great minister. Anti-imperialist, and perhaps anti-British, he joined Sir Robert Borden to carry out his aims, but in reality he helped imperialism. He is a pacifist who politically delights to be on the home war-path. His attitude is predominantly militant and he is served by uncommonly rich and abounding literary resources.

French Canadian journalism has ever drawn men of conspicuous intellectual worth. Bédard wrote brilliantly and fearlessly. Though loyal to British, and nothing in his writings could ever be held against him, he was imprisoned by Craig and expelled from the jail almost by force when the governor could not prove his charges.[9] The British Government could not punish Craig but rewarded Bédard by making him judge at Three Rivers. Dr. Jacques Labrie was a fine journalist.[10] Oscar Dunn and Buies excelled in the same art and with them it was an art. Lord Durham gave us the impression that French journalists were imported from France, but at present L. Henri d'Hellencourt,

[8] *Report of the Nineteenth Annual Lake Mohonk Conference*, p. 59.
[9] Dionne, *Pierre Bédard et ses fils*, p. 115.
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 78.

for a long time the distinguished editor of *Le Soleil,* and now with *La Presse* of Montreal, seems the only Frenchman of journalistic importance in the country. This paper, in some ways the most popular and the most weighty of French Canada, is published under the direction of Oswald Mayrand. Judging Fernan Rinfret of *Le Canada* from the reprint of articles written by him while in Europe, during the war, one has from them a good idea of a healthy journalism.[10a] This interesting writer is also a member of the House of Commons. He is a genuine orator, rich in ideas. Expressing them with admirable directness, with a warm glow of feeling, and a rich, sympathetic voice, he holds the attention of his hearers by the charm of his utterances. More than a distinguished journalist and political man, he is a wide reader, a great student of Wagner and of Shakespeare.

The episcopate is represented by eminent men. No one is more absolutely loyal to his church, more untiring in her behalf, than Archbishop Bruchesi. His refined and simple manners, the evidences of a wide scholarship which he is inclined, but in vain, to conceal, his indefatigable philanthropic work and his readiness to co-operate with every work for the good of his country make a profound impression upon any member of other religious communions. Firm as a rock upon his doctrinal foundations, obliged to uphold the decisions of an ecclesiastical court which decided by Canon Law that a couple married by a Protestant minister were not married,[11] he is ever ready to yield to all the behests of courtesy and even to co-operate with other religious bodies. He has rendered possible the work of Mgr. Gauthier, his coadjutor, a scholarly, philosophical bishop, with a large Christian vision and broad sympathies, with the living movements of the hour. It is good fortune

[10a] Fernan Rinfret, *Un Voyage en Angleterre,* Montreal, 1918.
[11] Robert Sellar, *The Tragedy of Quebec,* p. 228.

for Montreal to have such a man as rector of the university and the strong bearer of responsibilities now too heavy for the noble archbishop.

A prelate of great influence is Mgr. Oliver-Elzéard Mathieu, archbishop of Regina, a man of great distinction. He speaks a splendid English, and one cannot overrate the charm of his French conversation, rich, fluent, free from all episcopal formalism and stiffness. After his early life in what was really a suburb of Quebec and his studies in the historic seminary and the university, he became priest, professor at Laval University, then rector and at last archbishop. To the great regret of all classes in Quebec, he was sent to his present See in the midst of a most mixed population whose churches have a missionary character. As a fervent Christian, he believes that by going to that city he heeded God, that God had a mission for him, and it looks like it. A man of large moral vision, he has been the able interpreter of a noble type of French civilisation before many dense Anglo-Protestants—as ignorant of Catholicism as many Catholics are of Protestantism—and the able expounder of a high form of Catholic life. His Christian faith, his extensive culture and refinement, his wide philosophical knowledge, his tact and grace have made him stand there as a soldier of God. Without losing touch with democracy, from which he sprang, remaining simple in all his movements and utterances, one has from him the simple, correct, elegant, strong assertion of his principles in language that the foremost ecclesiastics of France need not be ashamed of. Withal, he is the most modern of men.

The assertions of some Protestants and Free-thinkers that all the ecclesiastics of this church are cast in the same mould is only sustained by superficial appearances. Indeed, Catholicism makes a strong impression upon all its ecclesiastics, who have similar ways, born of interests and a life in common, but even among the Orders and associa-

tions, the personal element stands out in singular relief. A noteworthy case of this is to be found in the person of the Rev. R. Labelle, superior of the Sulpicians. He reminds one of the finest French ecclesiastics of the seventeenth century, though a man of his time. Tall, dignified, his presence is imposing and his warm utterances win one from the start. He speaks with a sympathetic voice and the authority of one who has grappled with the greatest problems of education. He feels that religion makes the vital connection of knowledge. Few understand better than he how to train young priests for the church in an age of doubt, and the necessity to have well-educated men. Scholarly and learned, one is impressed by his many practical, philanthropic and religious interests, as well as by a common trait of the *Compagnie,* to which he belongs—their great humility. Other monastic organisations have at their head men of large calibre and courteous demeanour. Who can forget the spirit of the abbot of the Tappists, as well as the inspiration which he gives to his colleagues in their unselfish and beneficent work?

Even in the stronghold of conservatism, Quebec, there have been men of learned attainments, men of all-round scientific insight, rather than specialists. Mgr. Hamel and Professor de Foville were competent to do very advanced work and Mgr. La Flamme won the admiration of his McGill colleagues who knew his work and worth. His indisputable range of knowledge has been admitted by competent judges. Perhaps better than his English admirers, he grasped the philosophical bearings of contemporary science. A goodly number of professors have occupied the chairs of the university with a distinction which their ethics of self-effacement force them to conceal, surpassed only by their devotion. There are among their prelates, priests and principals of colleges men who by their humanities, their lasting interest in the great classic expressions of the human

mind, would do credit to any society. Above all, they are men of great abnegation and an almost absolute altruistic surrender of selfhood; in their own way, ministrants of the truth of God.

French Canada is not narrowly ethnocentric. Its intellectualists have performed important functions in the larger life of the Dominion. One meets, in Ottawa, the Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux, President of the French section of the Royal Society of Canada, Solicitor-General, and then Minister of the Navy and Fisheries, a man with a wide intellectual range. He was sent to Japan to study the Canadian-Japanese problem and to Africa to represent his country at the inauguration of the South African Union. At the funeral of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, he was chosen for the occasion as the representative of the Liberal party and recently was made speaker of the House of Commons. The Hon. Louis Philippe Brodeur, who rose rapidly to various high positions in the Dominion, was also at one time Speaker of the House. He held the office of Inland Revenue, Minister of Marine and Fisheries and was a member of the Imperial Conferences in 1907, 1909 and 1911. He was an important personal factor in the negotiation of the Franco-Canadian Treaty, 1907. After twelve years of distinguished service in the Supreme Court of Canada he died recently, lieutenant governor of Quebec. Ernest Lapointe played a noble part in the discussion of the French schools in Ontario [12] and had the honour of signing in Washington the first treaty between Canada and the United States.

No mention has, thus far, been made of a small French Protestant minority which has produced men of "great moral and intellectual worth." [12a] Among them was conspicuous the late Dr. Théodore Lafleur, called by Dr. John Clark Murray, "the most scholarly and eloquent protestant

[12] Skelton, Vol. II, p. 478.

[12a] G. L. Gilmour, *Au Canada,* p. 48.

preacher" of Montreal. His sons, prominent in other respects, have occupied high positions in McGill University. Dr. William Osler expressed admiration for Dr. Henri Lafleur, professor in the School of Medicine. Paul Lafleur, who recently died in Egypt, was first a professor of psychology. This with his broad philosophical culture was a stepping-stone to efficient service in the chair of comparative literature. These professorial experiences gave him a rare cumulative equipment for the chair of English literature, in which he taught with distinction. Eugène Lafleur is one of the foremost jurists of Canada. McGill, conferring upon him two of its highest degrees, recognised, thereby, his worth as professor of international law. He has been entrusted with most important legal cases. In 1911 he was chosen by the governments of the United States and Mexico as arbitrator to decide the location of the boundary line between the two countries in the Chanizei region. His decision was accepted without question. He was nominated in London to succeed Judge Ruy Barbarosa, in the Court of International Justice at The Hague. However above the eminent jurist there is the man. A more just and serene spirit can hardly be found in Canada.

It is not within the scope of this book to describe the share taken by French Canada in the Great War. We deplore the agitation of a few to discourage men from enlisting. In spite of that French Canadians have done a service which, we trust, will receive justice some day from a fair-minded historian. Since the Cession they have never been without representatives in the army in France and in England. Colonel Arthur Mignault, a Montreal physician, recruited two French Canadian regiments, officered by their own kin, and this was done at his own expense. Sir Eugène Fiset rendered important services in South Africa, and during the late war was Deputy Minister of Militia and Defence. Not to mention Brigadier-General Lessard, or Brig-

adier-General Labelle, or Lieutenant-Colonel Panet, Sir Edward Percy Girouard has an exceptional record of work for the Dominion and for the empire. Starting as a chainman on the Canadian Pacific, he became lieutenant of Royal Engineers, performed important functions at the Woolwich Arsenal, was Director of Railways during the Sudan Expedition, President of the Egyptian State Railways, High Commissioner and Governor of Northern Nigeria, Governor of British East Africa, Director of the General Munition Supply, and then Managing Director of Sir W. G. Armstrong Whitworth and Company—an extraordinary career. These men, perhaps not held by as close a cohesion as that which binds their people together, are nevertheless good French Canadians.

We cannot in this connection overlook the coming men with the new university education, the men who have been assimilating the best that Paris can give in philosophy, in science, literature, and art, or those who have been to American institutions. One cannot lay too much stress upon the certain influence of the Rhodes scholars who have become acquainted with the best of England and have absorbed the finest culture and erudition of Oxford. It is a pity that many of their younger men of exceptional gifts are not better known, men like Edouard Montpetit, general secretary of Montreal University, Ægidius Fauteux of St. Sulpice Library and his vast knowledge of the historical life of French Canada, Hector Garneau of the city library, who is also a master in his field, and Ferdinand Roy of Quebec, president of the bar association of the province. An array of new men influenced by the new, wide, educational life is appearing and with them will come even greater changes. Many Anglo-Saxons have not the faintest idea of the existence along the St. Lawrence of this aristocracy of progressive culture and intelligence which constitutes one of the greatest ethical forces of the Dominion.

CHAPTER XIX

FRENCH CANADIAN LITERATURE

IT is difficult to fix a date for the birth of French Canadian literature, a bond of continuity, or a correlation of growth uniting every part to the whole. It is amazing that this people, with their colonial disabilities, should have produced so much that has real value, though their literature is a concomitant of their life rather than its expression. For a long time, few in number, absorbed as they were by the tragedies of their history, what time had they to write? All along, the supreme problem for them was not to create literature or art, but to live. At the Cession they lost the best elements of a possible literary class. For nearly a century they were cut off, by England, from the books of France, and the French Revolution detached them from all interest in the writers of the old home land. Even news came to them through translations of English papers.[1] It is of more moment that they lacked popular education and ideas.[2] They never had printing presses under French rule. Later, the first books were alphabets, catechisms, the prayer-book of the Jesuit Labrosse, a book of travels by Chevalier Lacorne de St. Luc, and books by their able jurist, Cugnet.[3] Creative literary gifts of a popular character were not lacking even among the peasantry. M. de Gaspé speaks of an unlettered poet moving the people to tears by his *complaintes*.[4]

[1] R. A. Benoit, *Le Canada français*, May, 1922, p. 253.
[2] Abbé C. Roy, *Nouveaux Essais sur la littérature canadienne*, p. 284.
[3] Bibaud, *Tableau historique*, p. 33.
[4] *Les anciens Canadiens*, p. 65.

Among the best early expressions of the French Canadian mind stand their petitions and memorials to the British Government, some of which are really remarkable, not only by a clear apprehension of facts, by a strong grasp of the situation, by sound reasoning, but by their superb form. Real literature began with journalism. All along there has been a vital connection between them. Almost all their best writers were publicists, at least for a time. In the *Anthologie des poètes canadiens* of Jules Fournier, eighty-two in all, at least one-half had journalistic records. Amazingly large is the number of papers that were founded in the province, but all had literary pretensions and almost all had genuine literary bent. The *Essai de bibliographie canadienne* of the late Philéas Gagnon is a vast necrologic record of Canadian French journalism.

Their press of every political complexion always came closer than their early books to a fair expression of their life, but wrought with an art which remains one of the best traits of their press. This struck British observers long ago. In 1843 James Buckingham states that "for good taste in selection of subjects, and extracts as well as for elegance of style and acuteness of reasoning, we thought French papers here [Quebec] superior to the English." [5] The influence of the church has meant inspiration, restraint, and dignity, yet there are, at present, some papers disfigured by advertisements of pills and nostrums. Abbé Camille Roy deplores the advent of the yellow press,[6] though this is far from extensive. Their journalists are inclined to be trenchant and have a great capacity for brilliant, cutting satire, though seldom devoid of urbanity.

Ten years ago *The Canadian Advertising Limited* made statements, for which we leave to that organisation all responsibility, that the French press was represented by 11

[5] *Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick*, p. 248.
[6] *Propos canadiens*, p. 276.

dailies in Quebec and Ontario [7] and nearly 100 bi-weeklies, weeklies, semi-weeklies, and monthlies. Politically, 33 were Liberal, 24 Independent, and 11 Conservative. There were 8 devoted, respectively, to the army, to music, to fraternal associations, to fashion, to labour, to education, to science, and to philosophy; 2 to law, 2 to medicine, 3 to agriculture, 5 to trade, 9—notice the number—to literature. Nearly all have a strong religious spirit. The *Journal de Waterloo* publishes every week the portion of the Gospel read in the church on Sunday, with a brief commentary of about the same length.

Some of their publicists have issued, in book form, selections from their editorials that may be viewed as fine literature. *Dix Ans de Journalisme* by Oscar Dunn, a man whose journalistic gifts were great, furnishes us with the living ideas of that day. His articles upon France, upon the temporal power of the Pope, upon political issues, upon farming, and upon the French language represent the best opinion of the society in which he lived. Some of the writings of Faucher de Saint-Maurice, less æsthetic, are more varied and substantial. Their best journalist, Arthur Buies, has left us exquisite pages upon innumerable themes, written with an admirable delicacy of high journalistic instinct. Abounding in wit, and good humour, he was the most irrepressible and elegant writer of French Canada; jealous of his independence, idealistic, an unerring observer, possessed at times of realistic British vision, inimitable, now and then slightly flippant. More than once he clashed with the clergy; yet, at times, he had a religious spirit which was contagious. Some of his pages upon the heroism of Catholic missionaries, for example the Oblates,[8] are warm with poetic emotion and more touching than those written by the missionaries themselves. His *Chroniques,*

[7] *French Newspapers and Periodicals*, 1913, p. 13.
[8] See *L'Outaouais supérieur*, p. 242.

like his travels, furnish some of the choicest and most savoury bits of French Canadian letters.[9] One would like to dwell upon the journalistic productions of Chauveau, of Sir Adolphe Routhier, and of contemporary journalists.

An important movement is that of women in journalism, which has already given books of no mean importance. One of these writers, Mme. Dandurand, has put together some of her early articles, previously published in a newspaper, and made out of them a book, *Nos Travers,* which, notwithstanding its origins, has a singular unity. It is a superb psychological and ethical study of the feminine society of Montreal and perhaps more of Quebec. By its philosophical point of view, its richness of ideas, its fineness of form, it is a remarkable survey of the problems of the day for mothers and daughters. Some of its conclusions may rest upon too narrow inductions—though just, as a whole. There is, perhaps, in it too much of the Hamletian vision, "the time is out of joint," and an unbroken, solemn spirit which reminds one of pulpit utterances. For some minds, the only fault found, at the time of its publication, was that this vigorous, substantial, and elegant book was written in the heyday of the young womanhood of the author.

Other women representatives of French Canada have taken important positions in the best papers. Madeleine, Mme. Huguenin, writes for *La Patrie,* Fadette, Mme. St. Jacques, for *Le Devoir,* Paul Mance for *Le Nationaliste,* and Ginevra for *Le Soleil* of Quebec. Most of them have also reprinted in book form selections from their writings. In their pages there is the assertion of an intense Catholicism, great earnestness, high domestic ideals, but expressed with more spontaneity, more warmth, more naturalness and grace than the utterances by men trained in the cold, formal classicism. They are unconsciously the exponents of ten-

[9] *Chroniques canadiennes, L'Outaouais supérieur, Récits de voyages, Le Saguenay et le Bassin du Lac Saint-Jean.*

dencies moving away from literary tradition. In point of life, this is most significant.

The first attempts at literature proper were published in reviews.[10] It is fortunate that at the end of the first half of the nineteenth century what was worth while in those productions was republished by J. Huston, under the title of *Répertoire national,* in four volumes.[11] By far the greater part of these periodicals was short-lived. Those which had a longer history were sheltered by institutions of learning, like the *Revue canadienne,* lately disappeared after an existence of fifty-seven years, during which it published eighty volumes of valuable papers, mostly from the pens of professors of Montreal University. The energetic and progressive *Revue trimestrielle canadienne* is the organ of the *Ecole polytechnique,* the faculty of applied science of this institution. *Le Canada français,* founded in 1916, was the amalgamation of the *Parler français* and of the *Nouvelle France,* both of which, in their history, had done fine work. It is now the sturdy organ of Laval. The monthly, *L'Enseignement primaire,* in its forty-fourth year, growing as a great pedagogic force, is sent free by the province to all the Catholic schools. *La Revue nationale* started brilliantly but it soon lost its artistic qualities, narrowed its scope, and dropped its most interesting illustrations. *Le Revue moderne,* founded by Madeleine, is noteworthy. *Le Terroir* is a modest publication, devoted almost exclusively to home subjects, but, in its limited range, full of interest. In 1922 three new reviews were started, *Le Jardin des muses* for poets, *Les Annales,* for a literary society of Ottawa, and the *Revue légale.* With a limited population, it is impossible to find subscribers enough to enable them all to live.

These periodicals are signs of a culture which is spread-

[10] Larreau, *Mélanges historiques et littéraires,* p. 3.
[11] This was reissued in 1895, by the Librairie Beauchemin.

ing in the home field. Clergymen have been, and still are, prominent as contributors, but laymen are taking a more conspicuous position. University reviews are quickened by the new life which has entered Laval and Montreal through their expansion, and the advent of new professors both from home and abroad. This means not only a large professional force in the lecture-room, but a wider intellectual radiation of universities through the reviews. Science and philosophy are gaining a larger place. Great questions are discussed with more freedom. Michelet, whom the saintly Henri Perryve called "that unhappy soul"—"that poor soul which compelled God to quit it," was represented in the University of Montreal as "A Creator of French Patriotism." This address was published in *La Revue canadienne*.[12] Professor Léau of Nancy wrote a fine article, of a most objective character, upon the Superior Normal School of Paris, published in *Le Canada français*.[13] Ten years ago that would not have taken place in the official reviews of Laval. What is new, after the superlative idealisations of the Pope by Mgr. Paquet, by Abbé Camille Roy, and the philosophical Abbé Robert, are the realistic pictures by Don Paolo Agosto of papal institutions, and the election of Sixtus V, in the spirit of a most independent historian. These reviews with their deficiencies are indices of a growing respect for facts and a larger vision.

French Canadian literary history has not been without analogies with that of the Americans who, in the eighteenth century, made an extensive use of almanacs. In one year out of thirteen books published in Philadelphia, seven were publications of this kind.[14] In French Canada such annuals are still numerous, instructive, superior. They even contain literary contributions of considerable originality and value. The poet Fréchette wrote for them. They reflect

[12] 1922, p. 137. [13] 1922, p. 54.
[14] Katharine Lee Bates, *American Literature*, p. 62.

the popular mentality of those for whom they are made. The views of life of former generations and of the common social body is to be found in their *contes,* their legends, their folklore, which bring out these features most admirably in the vernacular of the voyageurs and bushmen, with the speech of that class of men. Quaint archaisms and, at times, English words with French endings, are found in their publications, constituting perhaps the most original part of the national literature. Here they gave their imagination the freest play. They recall for us their former life, that which survives in the least progressive districts—with their superstitions—the word is from Abbé Casgrain. The tales deal with the prodigious credulity of this class of men who cannot see the real world. One might place over these stories, as an epigraph, the words of Milton,

> "Satan exalted sat, by merit rais'd
> To that bad eminence."

The genius of evil is considered powerful and almost omnipotent, but when it reaches its end it is always a punishment for violation of the moral law.

Abbé Casgrain has written, in flawless French, extraordinary tales of Franco-Indian horrors, mingled with superstitious marvels, long related among the old settlers of the lower St. Lawrence. Philippe Aubert de Gaspé's virtually autobiographic novel, *Les anciens Canadiens,* so living and so true, "a bit of history brought near us with a strong telescope," makes us shudder in presence of the sorceress, *la Corriveau.*[15] The French had witches not unlike those of Salem, but they did not burn them. The folklorist, Z. Massicotte, has published a collection of these stories, entitled *Conteurs canadiens français.*[16] In it women have stories of a gentler life than the men, in the same world of imaginative fears, though vastly more humane. This

[15] P. 221.

[16] The volume has a good vocabulary of the text of those narratives.

is true of Françoise, Mlle. Robertine Barry, later on editor of a magazine for women, and Mme. Dandurand, who gives us a beautiful Christmas story filled to the brim with Christian optimism and Christian charity.

The men in this field have unquestionable talent, and have observed the parlance of the population, that of the lumber camps, and of the fields, and reproduced it faithfully. Faucher de Saint-Maurice, traveller and journalist, holds a high place. Benjamin Sulte, poet and literary historian, is a story-teller of the first magnitude. Chauveau uses Alexandrine verse. L. de Montigny, an elegant writer, has a brightness and a potent charm that win us. Those who have read Fréchette's poetry marvel at his repertory of popular idioms, at his most extensive familiarity with the chopper's and the farmer's vocabulary, at his weird, soul-stirring narratives, and at the fantastical play of his imagination. How did he come to pen the erratic fancy of the woodsmen, or the queer deeds of prosaic farmers? His *Originaux et détraqués* contains a great variety of personages, drawn less from life than from his Doré-like imagination. One sees from these tales how the popular minds were stirred, their erratic fancy cultivated, their strange feelings aroused, and what the mysteries of their deeper living were. As we find more of the real French life of the seventeenth century in the fables of La Fontaine than in the writings of Corneille, so we get more of the popular soul of French Canada in these stories than in their fine lyrics.

Their tales and their novels are kindred, and decidedly a literature of imagination. The former, with a subject-matter common to all peoples and their legendary traditions, have an original French Canadian form. The fiction is rather a European imitation which Crémazie was ready to throw overboard.[17] Abbé Camille Roy says that his kins-

[17] *Oeuvres complètes*, p. 40.

men are still awaiting strong and original novels.[18] This is true, but would it not have been extraordinary had it been otherwise? Where is the country that has attained excellence in this field when its population was no larger than that of French Canada? According to the statistics of 1790, the white population of the United States was about equal to that of Quebec to-day, but what works of fiction had they then? Yet something has been done. *Les anciens Canadiens* of M. de Gaspé is an historical novel made up of facts—unquestionable, historical facts—held together by a slender thread of fiction, but captivating and true. It has a clear historical atmosphere, pathetic, patriotic, but free from prejudice. It represents a tragic side of the Conquest with a rare sense of justice.

Joseph Marmette has been fairly happy in his treatment of historical fiction. French Canadians' love of history—of their own history—is bound to bring important fruition in this field, as it has done for their poetry. Their novelists instinctively turn to their annals. Marmette, in *François de Bienville,* evokes Frontenac and the life of Quebec at the time of Phips' attack upon that city. Napoléon Bourassa, in *Jacques et Marie,* brings before us the harrowing history of the land of Evangeline in connection with a simple love story. Mlle. Félicité Angers, known as Laure Conan, also recalls the heroic past of her ancestors. Her *L'Oublié* is an idealistic evocation of the person of Lambert Close, a hero like Dollard, who had already been exalted in art by the sculptor, Philippe Hébert, on the pedestal of his monument of Maisonneuve, in Montreal. She represents her personage more or less after the method of Corneille, with the preponderance of a single element, a principle, of an idea, in this case that of sacrificing his life for others. The conception is quite abstract and conventional. It is not a flesh-and-blood personality so much as a perfect

[18] *Manuel d'histoire de la littérature canadienne,* p. 76.

literary etching of great beauty, which was crowned by the French Academy. Imperfect as are these attempts at historical fiction, they are infinitely closer to the truth than novels by Anglo-Canadians like *The Golden Dog* of William Kirby, the *Seats of the Mighty,* and *Carnac's Folly* of Sir Gilbert Parker, whose data and interpretation of French Canadian history are deficient and unreliable.

Another work of Laure Conan is her *Angéline de Montbrun,* a novel of sweet mysticism, with a poetry of rare elevation. Angéline, disappointed with what she considered the best human love within her reach, seeks the highest love in God by monastic life. This theme in Catholic society is not new, but the author has worked it out in a most artistic way, and has thereby given a book of peculiar interest for those inclined towards cloistral life. One finds here the peculiar spirit and ethics of the Ursulines of Quebec with whom the author studied. Books of religious fiction are many in the province, but *Angéline de Montbrun* is probably the most perfect work of the kind.

Among their novels with a practical purpose none is better known than the *Jean Rivard* of Gérin-Lajoie to which we have so frequently referred. Someone has associated it with the *La Terre qui meurt* of M. Réné Bazin, an interesting but partisan book. *Jean Rivard* is a truer and a saner book which has exerted a good influence. It had the honour of being the first French Canadian work republished in Paris, and while the form leaves much to be desired, it remains all along in touch with the realities of pioneer life in Canada. We have already mentioned several books descriptive of rural life idealised to the borderland of fiction, making the balance of human felicity greatly in favour of the tillers of the soil. The *Chez Nos Gens,* by Judge Rivard, made up of short and fascinating sketches, goes to the heart of peasant life with a perfect art, voicing real æsthetic sensibilities. Of kindred inspiration is the *Aux*

Souvenirs canadiens of G. E. Marquis, a work of great candour. Several books of this kind, when the writers do not attempt to play the *littérateurs,* show how much the Canadian French are attached to their home life.

French Canadian novels are intensely national, simple in their narrative, clean and honest, but out of touch with individual and social facts, and have a very limited range of themes. They seem unable to voice in their fiction the romance of their common everyday life, or the play of the social forces that shape it. They are indebted to their literary readings for the most characteristic parts of their work, and not to introspection and social analysis. They have so far failed to work the gold mines of their national ways, largely because, to use General Gordon's words, they are unable "to creep under men's skins." Strange to say, they have not penetrated to the centre of the French Canadian soul, a new world for literati, more interesting than those open to writers in other lands, and which Hémon in *Maria Chapdelaine* only began to explore.

Their criticism is in the making. Long ago Chauveau, Abbé Casgrain, and Sir A. B. Routhier wrote beautiful pages upon the literary productions of the province, but judged them with their hard literary decalogue of fixity. Even the most eminent critic of to-day, Abbé Camille Roy, while not infrequently using the word evolution, is still swayed by the philosophy of pre-evolutionary times. He adheres fairly close to the literary orthodoxy of the criticism of the province, which must relax something of its tightlaced canons. It does not lack knowledge, but a broader philosophical spirit. It must be sustained by a wider world of readers, seeking an adequate literary guidance as they have a religious one. There must be an ampler contact with other literatures, and above all more philosophical freedom and penetration. At this point they may derive valuable hints from the Catholic critics of the old Motherland. The

criticisms of professors from France, while conservative, have a longer-range way.

The works of Abbé Camille Roy are quite varied and important,[19] but he is above all a conscientious and able critic. There are not in his studies attempts, like that of Brunetière, to subject literary works to biological laws and point out their evolution, nor the impressionistic criticism of Lemaître, nor the deep human sympathy of Bourget helping him to penetrate the subjective state of the writer, but, on the contrary, the traditional conceptions of Boileau, applied fearlessly, with literary discrimination of a high order, with an unconscious idealisation of conservative authors, wrapped in a form of uncommon beauty and at times with considerable poetic elevation. All along one notices the dominance of intellect and a tendency to impersonality. We admire most of his positive literary judgments, not their philosophical co-ordination; his fine sense of æsthetic and ethical values, but deplore his severity or his silence concerning the works of the men whose faith has flashed out. However, his professional services, his literary work, his splendid competence overshadow the limitations of his ideal of criticism.

While there are not many men in the province capable of critical judgment one finds short, literary appreciations which portend a larger harvest. The vice-rector of the University of Montreal, Canon Emile Chartier, has published fascinating pages upon the literature of his people, perhaps too severe, but not a dull one. The introduction of Louis Dantin to Nelligan's poems is the work of a penetrating critic, but since that we have heard nothing from him. We cannot speak too highly of M. de Montigny's preface to *Maria Chapdelaine*. It is the most discriminating, broad,

[19] *Essais sur la littérature canadienne; Nos Origines littéraires; Nouveaux Essais littéraires; Histoires de la littérature canadienne-française.*

philosophical estimate of that work that we have read. He points out, among other things, the great literary possibilities of fiction in French Canada, merely touched upon by Hémon. Several volumes of Jean Charbonneau, by the side of interesting surveys of the works of the French Canadian literary fraternity, point to a deeper and more living conception of literature. No one so far has even attempted such a many-sided view of this literature, though he does not seem to us to have been quite successful. However, the prize granted him by the French Academy is a judgment which for many is without appeal.

In two fields their writers have attained a real superiority, which are discussed in the next two chapters; that is, their history and their poetry, both of which have all along given body and beauty to every literary expression of the national mind, especially to their eloquence. They have the genuine gift of public speaking—a fine sonorousness of utterance as well as a great earnestness of soul, not often deep. They are unsurpassed in the art of making gracious and tactful expressions of amenities, whether it be at a great religious meeting, an important gathering of teachers, or any other noteworthy assembly. Their ways are natural, free from mannerism, with an almost instinctive delicacy. Their literary tact modulates their utterances without the gaucheries of men of other nationalities. As eulogists they proceed with the lightest possible touch and an admirable sureness of taste. When they appeared on great occasions, or at religious conventions, in France, they captivated their audiences. The Hon. Athanase David won laurels there. At a congress in Orleans, when Professor J. C. Wilfrid of the College of Ste. Anne de la Pocatière spoke, after other Quebeckers, the president exclaimed, "They are all orators, those Canadians." [20] Eminent visitors from France pay them similar compliments. One is astonished that, with

[20] Magnan, p. 464.

such a distinguished clergy as they have, Henri d'Arles complains that, in their literature, there is a striking lack of sermons and mystical writings.[21]

It is among laymen that one finds the ablest orators. Chauveau's masterpiece of eloquence in presence of the men of two British naval units and of the French frigate, *La Capricieuse,* honouring the heroes of both nations at Sainte-Foye, was a memorable achievement. They are happy when, with a certain literary glow, they voice, in philosophical aphoristic phrases, their political ideals, as when Cartier exclaims: "Equal justice to all races and to all beliefs," or when he voices his national policy: "In a country like ours all rights must be safeguarded and all convictions respected." We have abundantly quoted Laurier in the judgments which express his large political philosophy. Showing less delight in form, but very strong in substance, Mercier gives us his formula of popular government: "From the moment that a people have conquered their liberty, the only way to govern them is to educate and enlighten them. This free people that we must teach are the true people that toil; they are, in the highest sense, the great family, that of ploughmen, of artisans, of traders, and of craftsmen. Let us open to them the door of the temple, the school. May its beneficent light radiate broadly and its rays penetrate to the humblest fireside." Showing his faith in abstract justice, which, after all, is the highest form of justice, he says, "We of the Province of Quebec are decided to have no other guide in our public affairs than Justice. In spite of all, we believe in it. Accordingly, we accept most burdensome responsibilities, as well as the most trying consequences, not only in the present, but even in the past. When we notice that, in former events, its precepts have been ignored, its interests neglected, its rights betrayed, then we must retrace our

[21] *La Revue nationale,* 1921, p. 8.

steps, right the wrong, and pay the debt." [22] M. Bourassa attained rare elevation at the Eucharistic Congress of Montreal when he answered Archbishop Bourne of London, who had urged French Catholics to give up their language. It was one of the finest discourses ever delivered by a man of his nationality. One is particularly impressed by their young men who speak with great ability and charm, using a French rich in metaphors, often with a real rhythmic, poetic swing. Their drama is not very promising.

To gauge the importance of this literature the English student must not look for the peculiar qualities of his own—robustness, originality, romantic imagination, closeness to nature, spontaneity—but for clearness, definiteness, refinement, the French gift of style, unity of tone, exaltation of intelligence over emotion, the predominance of the social instinct, a tendency to retrospective vision, a similarity of themes and the short range of subjects. He will find, above all, national loyalty, aristocratic tendencies, the constant aim to give an æsthetic vesture to thought rather than to enrich it—a delight in form. He will discover that this literature is becoming more concrete, more actual, and that its output, notwithstanding limitations, ever appeals to the best in us.

While so many statical forces which have created this literature have increased, new dynamic ones have come which will accelerate progress. The Royal Society of Canada has given, and continues to give, a certain prestige to authors while it calls forth valuable papers and works. Other organisations and new departures, in the national life, will awaken a larger and deeper literary activity. The Association of Canadian Authors, with two French branches, one in Montreal and one in Quebec, literary societies, the new power of university life, the improved work of

[22] Quotations from inscriptions on the Quebec monuments of Cartier and Mercier.

classical colleges through government grants to them, the newly organized artistic education, the David prize, the growing sense of the humanising importance of this literary creative energy will tell strongly upon its growth. Furthermore, the eloquent fact is that this literature has been crowned ten times; remember this—ten times—by the French Academy. This achievement looms greater when one remembers that it has never been a marketable commodity, that it has seldom brought material compensations to authors, who have humorously applied to themselves Léon Gozlan's verses speaking of the tender care of the Great Father for all His creatures:

> *Aux petits des oiseaux il donne la pâture,*
> *Mais sa bonté s'arrête à la littérature.*[25]

[25] Quoted from Langelier, Vol. II, p. 71.

CHAPTER XX

FRENCH CANADIAN HISTORY

ONE of the best indices of the cultural attainments of French Canadians is to be found in the field of history. Here indeed they have excelled, but they have had signal advantages. Their archives are unusually rich in documents bearing upon early North American life. It was one of their missionaries, Père Ragueneau, vice-superior of the Jesuits, who, before anyone else, mentioned Niagara Falls [1] and Père Hennepin was the first to visit them. The oldest description of New York is from the pen of Père Jogues, a Jesuit put to death by the Indians.[2] The history of these archives is a most eventful one, fire after fire destroying their collections, but with new courage the pioneers of historiography set to reorganise what was left, and to replace, when possible, what was lost. Lord Dalhousie founded the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec which was so efficient in gathering materials of Canadian history and in securing grants for this end from the government.[3] Until the establishment of the archives in Ottawa there was a noble emulation among the French to gather evidence for a reconstruction of the past.

George Barthélémi Faribault, a lawyer and bibliophile, the brother of the first pioneer of Minnesota, was aware of the utmost national importance of the documents, manuscripts, maps, and books scattered everywhere. He gathered in Europe and Canada a fine collection of works upon

[1] Ferland, Vol. I, p. 48. [2] Casgrain, Vol. I, p. 386.
[3] J. E. Roy, *Royal Society*, III, Vol. III, p. 57.

Canadian history which, later on, was destroyed when Anglo-Canadian rioters burned the Parliament Buildings of Montreal.[4] He was once more sent to the Continent, and made a new collection for the Parliament of 20,000 volumes, 7,000 of which were again the prey of flames. Later on, he collected for himself 400 important manuscripts—among which was the celebrated *Journal des Jésuites*—1,000 printed volumes, an album with plans, maps, and portraits, all of which he gave to Laval University.[5] No man, at the time, did more to pave the way for real historical work. In 1837 he published his *Catalogue d'ouvrages sur l'histoire de l'Amérique et en particulier sur celle du Canada, de la Louisiane, de l'Arcadie* which was a revelation of the bibliographic richness of the country, a work which was then greatly praised by some of the most distinguished bibliophiles of Europe.[6]

M. Philéas Gagnon of Quebec succeeded in making a collection of books, reviews, newspapers, and prints of all sorts bearing upon the history of his people; it is now in the Public Library of Montreal. To him, also, we owe a most valuable medium of research, *Essai de bibliographie canadienne*.[7] M. Pierre-Georges Roy has already published several volumes of an extensive series of documents of the principal archives of the province. Those of the city of Quebec alone will fill twenty-two volumes.[8] Beside this the city has a great array of documents in the archives of the Ursulines, of the Hôtel-Dieu, of the bishop's palace, not to speak of 30,000 manuscripts bearing upon pre-Cession times which are in the Laval Library. E. Z. Massicotte, librarian of the courthouse of Montreal, made the statement that there are over 2,000,000 documents of importance in the archives committed to his care, mostly

[4] Casgrain, Vol. II, p. 178. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 203.
[6] Phileas Gagnon, *Essai de bibliographie canadienne*, Vol. I, p. 49.
[7] Vol. I, Québec, 1895; Vol. II, Montréal, 1913.
[8] *Inventaire d'une collection de pièces judiciaires, notariales*, 1917, p. iii.

deeds of notaries, not to mention the civil records of the Catholics of Montreal since 1674, and others of non-Catholics from 1766, and various documents of the different courts of justice. There are also in that city the registers of baptisms, marriages, and burials in the church of Notre-Dame, since 1642, in the archives of the St. Sulpice Seminary since 1657, of the Hôtel-Dieu since 1644, the Grey Nuns since 1692, and in the Bibliothèque St. Sulpice. Three Rivers is also rich in this respect.[9]

N. E. Dionne was requested by the French section of the Royal Society of Canada to make an inventory of Canadian books, pamphlets, papers, reviews, and maps published since the introduction of printing. Four volumes of priceless value give us the fruits of his labours.[10] There is, besides, a rich harvest made by their folklorists who recently, under the leadership of Marius Barbeau, have entered the whole field of French Canada. Other searchers have joined in the movement and have collected many old songs. Massicotte, alone, collected 2,000 refrains of those popular lyrics. Legends have been gleaned with method and recorded from persons at least fifty years of age. Stenography and the phonograph have given precision to these researches. Similarly momentous have been the results of the work upon the linguistic history of French Canada under the direction of Judge Adjutor Rivard. The *Société géographique de Quebec,* led by Arthur Amos, chief of the hydraulic service of the province, has been also a valuable auxiliary.

Among independent workers and initiators of constructive historiography there were also Jacques Viger, Garneau, and many others. Abbé Holmes found in the National Library of Paris manuscript copies of the second voyage of Cartier

[9] Massicotte, *Letter,* December 30, 1918.

[10] See James Geddes, Jr., *Biographical Outline of French Canadian Literature,* p. 38.

to Canada which was published in 1843.[11] Abbé Laverdière showed great intelligence and zeal in the publication of works essential for Canadian history. There was in him, though belonging to the secular clergy, the combination of Benedictine monk and stoic. When his edition of the works of Champlain was nearly ready the plates and all the printed matter in sheets were destroyed by the burning of the printer's building. Laverdière, who had noticed a few errors in the text, seemed almost happy to add patience to patience, going over all his work again, using for his new edition proofs of the destroyed text which he had fortunately kept.[12] To him we are also indebted for the publication of *Le Journal des Jésuites*.[13] All this activity was called forth, not by economic considerations, but by the desire to revive a remarkable past as a possible inspiration to the people, to increase historical learning, and kindle historical thinking which is even better, and above all to make an adequate inventory of their national life. The creation of the archives of the province, by Prime Minister Taschereau will help this historiographic activity.

Among the early toilers in the field of historical knowledge is Joseph Bouchette, surveyor-general of Lower Canada, lieutenant-colonel of the Canadian militia. As he travelled extensively, visited most of the seigniories, kept official records of all the freehold grants for many years, he had first-hand knowledge in this most important field. In 1815 he published a masterly work, a mine of information, *Description topographique du Bas-Canada*. The hints that this great work was not exclusively his vanish when one examines his other publications, the most important of which is his *Topographical Dictionary of Lower Canada*.[14] Bearing upon British rule about the thirties is the book of

[11] Gosselin, *Royal Society*, III, Vol. IV, p. 88.
[12] *Ibid.*, III, Vol. II, p. 8. [13] *Ibid.*, p. 20.
[14] Philéas Gagnon, *Essai de bibliographie canadienne*, Vol. I, p. 69.

Pierre de Sales de La Terrière, *A Political and Historical Account of Lower Canada.*[15] It is a broad, able, earnest protest of a French Canadian against the clique that governed Canada, not for the British people, nor for the natives, but for themselves; a protest similar to those of the North American British colonists. It simply, but eloquently, asked for fair treatment of the French as British subjects.

Their pedagogic history used in the schools began with the *Abrégé de l'histoire du Canada* by Joseph F. Perrault. This is in four volumes, two of which were published in 1832, one in 1833, and the last one in 1836; that is, on the eve of the Rebellion. Very imperfect from a literary point of view, it places simple facts before pupils and almost always the original documents which eloquently tell their story. In some ways it is superior to a large number of textbooks of to-day that have a good literary form, but are deficient in facts and do not demand much mental effort on the part of the pupils. F. X. Garneau, after the great work that made him famous, published a textbook, *Abrégé de l'histoire du Canada,* which had a great success. A recent attempt to meet the demands of the times was made by Desrosiers and Bertrand with their *Histoire du Canada.* This marks an unquestionable progress from almost every point of view—thought, facts, book-making, and general spirit. Formerly the history of the church and her action was central, and almost all else secondary. Here history is general; it takes a strict account of the advance of civilisation, and constantly bears in mind Catholicism as a great force of advancing life, but the national life as paramount. The book is all important for its intrinsic worth and as an index of the evolution of historical teaching in French Canada. We mention pedagogic history here because it is the great channel through which history and the work of its searchers reaches the masses through the schools.

[15] Philéas Gagnon, *Essai de bibliographie canadienne*, Vol. I, p. 273.

Some of their home critics have spoken of the work of French Canadian historians as scientific—statements which show a lack of understanding of modern methods of historical investigation. The college and university method, training to observe facts objectively, to compare them, to classify them, and to draw independent conclusions from them, is undeveloped among their writers. Professor Louis Arnould deplores the fact.[16] Several of their historians are too dogmatic and *doctrinaires*. As a rule, they omit anything in their statements that would not be complimentary to their church. She might suffer from a fearless, objective history, but her gains would be immense. Her record may be advantageously subjected to historical criticism. The historical facts mentioned by Mgr. Henri Têtu, which do not all redound to the praise of Quebec prelates,[17] do not, in any way, reflect unfavourably upon the leaders of Catholicism. In reality their historians lack that essential freedom which in France has permitted Sorel, Lavisse, and many others to be so independent and so scientific. Even François Xavier Garneau did not attain that serene height from which the scientific historian views all truths and records them, without fear or favour, with an unswerving loyalty to facts; yet he shines conspicuously as a remarkable historian for his sincerity, and is but slightly affected by the promptings of his deep patriotism. He was, and remains, the greatest historian that French Canada ever produced. He would be a great historian anywhere.

Garneau belongs to that large group of French Canadians who have risen

> "On stepping-stones
> Of their dead selves to higher things."

He was the son of an honest toiler, whose poverty prevented the boy from securing a college education. He learned

[16] *Nos Amis les Canadiens*, p. 192.

[17] *Les Evêques de Québec.*

all he could in the modest school which he attended. At the age of sixteen he entered the office of Archibald Campbell, a Quebec notary, as a clerk. From then on he was self-taught. He never missed an opportunity of learning. As books were rare, he copied with his own hand his textbook of *belles-lettres* and of rhetoric as well as the whole of Boileau.[18] He travelled in the United States, accompanying an English gentleman in ill-health who paid all his expenses, and returned by the way of Upper Canada. This was his first great step towards a liberal education. With his slowly earned savings he started, later on, for Europe which was for him a revelation; nay, an inspiration. D. B. Viger, the delegate of the Assembly of Lower Canada to London, was so impressed with the young man that he made him his secretary.[19] His social opportunities, his distant approach to, and at times contact with, the great men of his day, as well as his omnivorous reading, transformed him. If he did not have the university training he had that which close contact with the tragedies and wrongs of nationalities forces upon great souls. In touch with representatives of oppressed peoples, he was full of sympathy for the sons of Poland and the countrymen of O'Connell, as well as for his own. A confirmed optimist with large moral visions he had faith in the ultimate liberation of those peoples which is now almost fully realised. A great historian not only understands his time but sees beyond.

While in Mr. Campbell's office Garneau had discussions with the other clerks in reference to his country and countrymen. Once, stirred by their injustice, he said, "Well, some day I may write the history of Canada, but the real, the true history! You will see how our ancestors fell! And if such a fall is not more glorious than a victory! . . . Then he added, "What though the field be lost? All is not lost . . . He who has conquered by force has only half

[18] Casgrain, Vol. I, p. 91.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 99.

vanquished his enemy." [20] He kept his word and gave us his most luminous and illuminating history. He set to his task in 1840, and published the first volume in 1845; that is, when the 600,000 inhabitants had just emerged from the Uprising, suffering from an inflexible repression, humiliated by the loss of their constitution, calumniated by partisan historians. He bore in his heart the sorrows of an oppressed people. He regretted the acts of his countrymen in 1837, but he understood the cause of their provocations and felt deeply the excess of the punishment.

It was most exasperating for him to read in the Durham *Report* the cruel sentence imposed upon his countrymen, representing "a nationality more destitute of all that can invigorate and elevate a people than that which is exhibited by the descendants of the French in Lower Canada, owing to their retaining their peculiar language and manners." [21] Garneau's history is a remarkable refutation of the misstatements of French Canadian opponents, but made in a great spirit of justice, of fairness, of moderation without wrath or hatred, austere, but not severe. He upholds his countrymen—when they are right,—shows the pathetic side of their situation, which is heartrending when the government refuses to make concessions, and censures French Canadians for declining them *in extremis*. His history sets forth the difficult and heroic course of his countrymen before pre-Cession times, the horrors of Arcadia over which he passes lightly, the sufferings at the time of the Conquest, the oppressive system which led a small minority to rise and for which the constitution was suspended and the whole people punished. The Union of the Canadas was not intended to remove their legitimate grievances but to bring about their national extinction.

Garneau is a thorough historian, building his conclusions upon solid foundations. One feels that he has ransacked all

[20] Casgrain, Vol. I, p. 95. [21] *Report*, p. 218.

the documentary sources then available. He has a penetrating historical vision and a philosophical spirit fed with a wide knowledge. He lays stress upon natural causes and avoids miraculousness in history. He does not see things from the religious angle only, but has the attitude of a Christian stoic, at any cost wanting truth and justice. He leans more towards the stand of a judge than that of an advocate, though at heart he is both. He has the spirit of the great historians of France, and perhaps a closer loyalty to facts than most of them. He has their brilliant generalisations and logical conclusions. Most of the best historians of English Canada are at one with him in their statement of conditions, which were alike for all Canadian colonies. His portraits are few but have the striking traits of an etching. His descriptions of battles bring out the essentials, insisting upon the heroism of his ancestors and their greatness in defeat. Some of the finest pages of this work might have a place in a good anthology of French prose. In them one detects a strain of poetry which had found expression in his verses [22] and was to bloom in those of his son, Alfred Garneau.[23] All his written utterances are the indices of a courageous and creative mind that has felt the important lay currents of opinion of our own time.

Garneau was a Catholic of the larger type. His mild liberalism evoked bitter criticisms. Nothing shows the superiority of his masterpiece, and his advance over the men around him, like the rantings of the militant Bibaud.[24] Abbé Casgrain [25] and Abbé Camille Roy,[26] as well as many others, object to his absolute assertion of the principle of the freedom of conscience. The independence which he displayed in speaking of Bishop Laval, of the Jesuits, and of

[22] See J. Huston, *Répertoire national*, Vol. I, pp. 237, 239, 244, 262, 264, 274, 275, 276, 283, 368; Vol. II, pp. 89, 98, 132, 148, 206, 225.
[23] *Poésies.* [24] *Dictionnaire historique*, pp. 127, 369, *et seq.*
[25] Casgrain, Vol. II, p. 125.
[26] *Canada and Its Provinces*, Vol. XV, p. 455.

the Huguenots was not relished by ecclesiastics, yet many of them had a deep appreciation of the value of this work which gave his kinsmen a sense of their worth, deepened their patriotism, and made them more optimistic. It was then felt that a new and vital force had arisen in French literature which had brought the principle of nationality to a dominating eminence. Garneau supplied poets with patriotic themes and created a great literary emulation. Many young men became conscious of talents hitherto unsuspected. It is a pity that after the praises of historians like Parkman, Bancroft, and Henri Martin—praises which would have been confirmed by the historical high court of Paris, the French Institute—the great French Canadian historian submitted to the revision, by what Abbé Casgrain calls "a competent ecclesiastic," [27] of the last edition of this magnificent work, involving the elimination of important passages. It is our good fortune, as well as that of the writer, that his grandson, Hector Garneau, has restored that work and enriched it with copious valuable notes. What is most significant is that this new edition scarcely excited any protest, and his countrymen assent to Crémazie's judgment concerning the man. *C'était un grand talent et ce qui vaut mieux, un grand caractère.*[28]

Some of the Canadian historical investigators attempted herculean tasks. Did not Abbé Cyprien Tanguay carry to completion what seemed an impossible enterprise, his *Dictionnaire généalogique des familles canadiennes depuis la fondation jusqu' à nos jours?* His seven volumes trace the genealogy of every French Canadian family that came from France to Canada between 1608 and 1763. Such a venture involved the ransacking of the archives of every parish and the records of every office from the origin of the French settlements. "No one," says Professor Colby, "can realize what the life of New France means until he has used Abbé

[27] Vol. II, p. 118.

[28] *Oeuvres complètes*, p. 27.

Tanguay's *Dictionnaire généalogique* which goes back, family by family, to the beginning, and follows the descent of the race until recent times." [29] Abbé Casgrain has given us historical works which seem to belong to an earlier period of the life of this people. Aristocratic, ever praising the manners and customs of the *ancien régime,* his histories lack modernity, and his subjects will have to be rewritten, though some of his books were translated into English and German. We would make an exception for his *Biographies canadiennes* which are substantial and have a more permanent value. To him we are specially indebted for most of our knowledge of Crémazie.

We must give a high place to Abbé J. B. A. Ferland, who played an important part in the historical education of his country. He shone brilliantly as professor in Laval University, greater by his teaching than by his published works, though both do him credit. He was for many years an historical investigator, clinging to new documents which he searched with absolute devotion in France as well as Canada. Many of his finds were the basis of new conclusions in reference to the past of his countrymen. In the same chair, later on, Mgr. Amédée Gosselin also taught the history of Canada, and subsequently became rector of the university. Mgr. Gosselin must not be mistaken for Abbé Auguste Gosselin, the author of the *Vie de Mgr. de Laval, premier évêque de Québec et apôtre du Canada.* These two historians of the same name force us to notice again how large families have brought cognominal relations into every field of activity. The same thing is true of the name of Roy. We are frequently face to face with it. In history we are indebted to the late Joseph Edmond Roy, to Pierre Georges Roy, and to Abbé Camille Roy.

As to Mgr. Gosselin, one has a sense that he is a learned historian and as free as one in his ecclesiastical relations

[29] *Canadian Types,* p. 151.

can be. Those who have approached him have been impressed by the charm of his personality, and by the simplicity and refinement of his manners. He has the spirit and culture of a distinguished theologian. His greatest effort, *L'Instruction au Canada sous le régime français,* published also in a condensed and improved form in *Canada and Its Provinces,*[30] is one of the finest contributions made, to our knowledge, of education under French rule. He has scrutinised every known source, made a good exegesis of his discoveries, tested one assertion by another, and drawn from them all the facts necessary to establish his proposition "that the early settlers had received a fairly good education in France, and were generally able to write. Leaving out those of distinguished personages, he found during the early period 800 signatures of men, mostly in the district of Quebec, where they were particularly counted. This is a large proportion, considering that in 1663 the total population was only 2,500 and in 1681 only 9,677." [31]

His extensive researches remain a gain never to be lost, though in the future his conclusions may receive a different interpretation. He proceeds more like a geometer than a historian, and when he has reached a certain goal, he is inclined to pause with a silent *quod erat demonstrandum.* There are too many questionable positive assertions at variance with the spirit of modern methods such as: "It is probable," [32] "we like to believe," [33] "it is not impossible," [34] "we cannot believe," [35] "it is difficult to believe," [36] "we would not be surprised," "it is possible," [37] "we are convinced," [38] "everything leads us to believe," [39] and "we

[30] Vol. XVI.

[31] We give here the summing up of Dr. Parmelee (p. 16), so well acquainted with the educational history of the province. See also Gosselin, *L'Instruction,* p. 30; *Canada and Its Provinces,* Vol. XVI, p. 325.

[32] *L'Instruction,* p. 54.
[33] p. 72.
[34] p. 73.
[35] p. 75.
[36] pp. 88, 165.
[37] p. 120.
[38] p. 251.
[39] p. 282.

do not think so." [40] There are other similar passages voicing conclusions not forced upon us by the evidence of the texts. Even admitting assertions in reference to the educational instructions of the old home land, assertions which seem to us too favourable, he has not successfully established that "Secondary instruction was as good, also as complete, here [41] as in the colleges of France." There was then in the Motherland a philosophical and scientific culture stimulating education everywhere in a way not even dreamed of in any of the colonies. Canada under French rule had no printing press [42] or newspaper. It is needless to insist that these objections do not lessen the importance of the book, and Mgr. Gosselin, who has written much that is important besides this work, is a man of whom French Canadians may be proud; he is a master in his field. The courageous professor even dared to oppose the prevalent opinion that the women of New France were better educated than the men.

The chair of Canadian history of Laval has been held by superior men, though not men inspired with the best and most modern methods of European historiography. Its present incumbent, the Hon. Thomas Chapais, raised to several eminent positions, an earnest layman, is a worthy peer of those whose works we have just commended. His *Jean Talon* and *Le Marquis de Montcalm* are admirably done. He has contributed a volume upon *Jean Talon* to the *Chronicles of Canada.* His latest work is *Cours d'Histoire du Canada,* four volumes of which, out of five, have been published. The historian is earnest, patriotic, literary, and eloquent. With the late Joseph Edmond Roy we come again in contact with men of a vast erudition who treated with ability some phases of the national history. Abbé Camille Roy calls him the most fervent of French Canadian historians. [43] Fervour and emotion are not what

[40] *L'Instruction,* p. 370. [41] Canada.
[42] Garneau, Vol. I, p. 181; Colby, p. 288.
[43] *Manuel d'histoire de la littérature canadienne,* p. 50.

all these historians lack. There is among them an ardent glow of affection for everything which pertains to what they improbably call their "race." Joseph Edmond Roy indulges in generalisations somewhat like Garneau while he revives for us the past life of his countrymen.

Forty years ago Louis P. Turcotte published his history, *Le Canada sous l'Union.* This work, deficient in form, is filled with valuable documents, though poorly translated. setting forth the transition during that interesting period, but constantly pointing out the necessity for the natives to defend their rights. With its limitations it is a work to be read, though Charles Abderhalden calls it "un ouvrage à peu près illisible." [44] *Dix ans au Canada de 1840 à 1850, histoire de l'établissement du gouvernement responsable* published only in 1888, is an admirable piece of work, objective, impersonal, doing great credit to the author of *Jean Rivard.* Its calm intellectual weighing of facts carries the intelligent reader with it. It generates light, not passion, and, much less, prejudice.

Alfred D. De Celles, former librarian of the Parliament at Ottawa, has caused his historical studies to centre around foremost French Canadian public men. The first of his books which particularly interested us was has *Papineau,* which is a good study of the orator, subsequently, an irrepressible agitator. De Celles was captivated by the man so long as he devoted his remarkable gifts to his country and to the empire, when he asked for much needed reforms in the spirit of a loyal subject, like Joseph Howe in Nova Scotia, but when Papineau denounced the British connection, the historian shows how erratic and dangerous he was. His work, *La Fontaine et son temps,* was an act of justice to one of the ablest statesmen of French Canada. Fine are the pages in which he has sketched that eminent figure, resembling Napoleon, the man who, with Robert Baldwin,

[44] *Nouvelles Etudes de littérature canadienne,* p. 224.

really introduced into Canadian life responsible government. We are touched by the genuine emotion of the writer when he sketches the wrongs endured by his countrymen, and feel a genuine admiration for this French Canadian, so true to British institutions, while winning, one by one, liberties for his people.

Among his other books there is *Cartier et son temps* which is a good, simple study of the services which Sir Georges Cartier has rendered to the Dominion as well as to French Canadians. From the beginning to the end of the book one has a true appreciation of this progressive, constructive statesman, who, more than any Frenchman of his day, acted as if he had said let bygones be bygones, and live in peace and union with our conquerors who ultimately, after trying times, brought us more freedom and well-being than we could have had under France. A work of a kindred spirit, but superior to this, is his *Laurier et son temps,* a fine volume upon this remarkable leader, giving, in a limited number of pages, the essential facts of the life of Laurier. De Celles has made important contributions to *Canada and Its Provinces,* to the *Makers of Canada,* and also to *The Chronicles of Canada.* One notices in his works a signal improvement in method, a greater sense of historical independence, and a continuous literary progress.

Benjamin Sulte has a record of no mean importance. Historian and poet, he is above all a fascinating narrator. His untiring industry has given us the enjoyment of a voluminous harvest.[45] Since the publication of his *Histoire des Canadiens français,* he has issued many interesting papers. None is deep or philosophical; those referring to contemporary France are often unjust; but his conclusions, or piquant statements, are dramatic. Speaking of Jean Baptiste Bouchette, who took General Carleton in a small boat from Montreal to Quebec, he says, "*un marin qui un*

[45] See for bibliography, Gérard Malchelosse, *Benjamin Sulte et son œuvre.*

jour . . . a servi de pivot . . . de point tournant a l'histoire du Canada . . . décidait du sort d'un pays" [46] seems a sweeping generalisation, but fascinatingly stated. Later on he gives credit to the five men who brought Carleton to Three Rivers: *"Cinq hommes dans une frêle embarcation, jouaient avec audace et dextérité le sort du Canada."* The narration, rapid, brilliant, dramatic, keeps one spellbound. He has made his history as readable as Dumas' novels, but the author of *Les trois Mousquetaires* was not remarkable for his depth or historical precision.

The volumes which Senator David has contributed to the history of his country have had quite a popularity. He has written *Les deux Papineau, Les patriotes de 1837-1838, Le Clergé canadien.* He contributed a biographical introduction to the *Discours de Laurier.* His two most important volumes are *L'Union des Deux Canadas* and his *Histoire du Canada Depuis la Confédération.* Direct, unpretentious, these books have appealed strongly to the avarage French Canadian reader. Less learned than some of his colleagues, he approaches events from a larger point of view and in a more liberal spirit, using the word "liberal" in its largest sense. He is quite discriminating in dealing with the British political clique of old, and often expresses his admiration for the sterling worth of the English people. While remaining a faithful son of the church he dared to criticise the clerical authorities, protested against their abuses of power, spoke even of a religious "reign of terror," which Charles Langelier called a *Terreur blanche.*[47] He has the courage of a prophet. This long literary career enables us to gauge the transformation of French Canadian prose. What a contrast there is between his captivating but rhetorical *Biographies et portraits,* written half a century ago, and his later clear, simple, concrete and natural historical works.

As we have stated, none of these historians, except Gar-

[46] *Royal Society,* III, Vol. II, p. 67. [47] Langelier, Vol. I, p. 13.

neau, has even approached the modern scientific view of history. They scarcely can divest themselves of their classical training or the influence of the ecclesiastical power. The church ever received, and should receive, great and merited praise, but this is so often repeated that it loses its impressiveness. Such encomiums should preferably come from lay historians. The lives of their eminent men and women will have to be rewritten, and transposed from the *Arma virumque cano* tone to a critical and objective history. These glorious personages will gain by a more sober and measured treatment and that they will have. For the present their historical literature shows what their ancestors have suffered in common; their fortitude in their national afflictions; their love of calm and tranquillity, unless agitated by a minority of racial antagonists; their contributions to the political life, the exceptionally deep penetration of their religion in their society; their civilisation which, through the church and the schools, descends lower among them than among any other people, their deep sense of a divine mission which brings the warm stream of hope and gladness into their souls.

CHAPTER XXI

FRENCH CANADIAN POETS

ONE of the peculiar features of the literary history of French Canadians is the place which poetry had in the early days of the country. Here there is no intention of referring to the work of Frenchmen like Joseph Quesnel, who not infrequently disparaged the natives because he felt that they did not do justice to his dull poetry:

. . . car l'ingrat canadien
Aux talents de l'esprit n'accorde jamais rien.[1]

Songs were their first lays, much of which were feeble, lean, anæmic, like the lyric poetry of the eighteenth century in France. Their satirical poems have no life-blood of personality, are soulless, abstract, and verbose like those of Bibaud against avarice, envy, and ignorance. They have all the defects of Boileau's productions and none of their excellencies. D. B. Viger, remembered for his political services to his country, writes an anecdotic poetry with the noble qualities of the minor poets of the time in the Motherland. In 1829 Isidore Bédard published a hymn, *"Sol canadien terre chérie,"* [2] having a lofty patriotic spirit, breathing great enthusiasm for his people and their history. In spite of its limitations it is a worthy lyric, speaking to the heart. It was long called the national hymn. Many have attempted thus to voice the aspirations of all French Canadians but, at present, the most popular and dignified production of the

[1] Huston, *Répertoire national,* Vol. I, p. xvii.
[2] *La nouvelle lyre canadienne,* p. 7.

kind is Sir Adolphe Routhier's *O Canada! terre de nos aïeux,* whose popularity was increased by the beautiful music of Calixte Lavallée. It is however, too abstract, too intellectual to represent, as a national hymn should, the feelings of all with concrete modern language. Many a poetaster sang, during the First Empire the praises of Nelson and the remarkable victory of Châteaugay. Then there began to appear traces of popular wounded feelings, hurt by the arrogance of the colonial oligarchy, with stereotyped allusions to Greece and Rome.

In 1832 we reach more genuine poetry embodying a more interesting life, in the poems of F. X. Garneau. So far there had been in the country two lyrical tendencies isolated from each other, the popular, simple, primitive, and the stereotyped classical. The first was original, while the other repeated, for the thousandth time, commonplaces of poetry. Garneau gave a more literary form to the popular current.[3] With him poetry has more substance, more truth with a more natural vesture. Here we have a noble patriot, making a more intelligent survey of the world, giving a choice expression to his thought, for thought he has. He rises out of his narrow environments for larger themes. *Le Canadien en France, Le Voyageur, L'Etranger, L'An 1834, La Harpe, La Pologne* are so substantial, so interesting by their contents that they would be relished even in prose. Withal there are in these poems the loose rudiments of a philosophy of history along the lines of development. Sir Adolphe Routher called it "cloudy," "in some pages, happily rare, it is even false," he says, meaning that it differs from his own which he deemed true, a fact not absolutely proven. At first it seemed a pity that this man of a peculiarly rich temperament did not continue in the cult of the Muses, but he opened a new path, in which he served his countrymen better, by his remarkable history in which the poetic spirit

[3] Chauveau, *Royal Society,* I, Vol. I, p. 81.

is far from wanting. Out of the great commotion of 1837 came that song which expressed the deep national sorrow of 1837, recalling the deeper sorrow of the great tragedy of Acadia:

Un Canadien errant
Banni de ses foyers,

was of Acadian inspiration and began with

Un Acadien errant
Banni de ses foyers.

The new form was composed by A. Gérin Lajoie as the prisoners of the Rebellion were taken to exile. *Canadien* replaced *Acadien.*[4-5] It was constantly sung by French Canadians in the United States, and remained long the sad expression of the homesickness of those kept, by economic distress, away from their native land.

A large poetic inspiration came with Octave Crémazie. His first poems were severely criticised. The comic paper, *Le Fantasque* of N. A. Aubin, lampoons this poetry with the following sarcasm: *C'est de la prose où les vers se sont mis,*[6] playing upon the double meaning of the word *vers,*[7] formally stating that it is prose cast into verse, but leaving upon the mind the impression that it is decayed, worm-eaten prose. His poems upon the Crimean War deepen the note of Napoleonism, already in Garneau, the real joy of seeing France and England, the two fatherlands of the French Canadian, united in repressing and chastising the terrible ruler of the Russians. He virtually absolves the unspeakable Turks whom, to say the least, he treats with a singular generosity. In 1856 he writes *Les Morts,* one of his most beautiful creations, an elegy most tender and touching. *L'Alouette* has a charm and a simplicity that make one think of Shelley's *Skylark,* though so unlike it.

[4-5] P. G. Roy, *Le Bulletin des recherches historiques,* October, 1918, p. 308.
[6] Lareau, *La littérature canadienne,* p. 87. [7] Verses and worms.

It is a more primitive form of art. There are exquisite bits of originality in his *Promenade de trois morts*. Weird, frightful, æsthetically offensive, yet having passages of real excellence, such as the lines describing the mother's tear which, in a miraculous way, reaches her defunct son in the grave, beginning with *O larme de ma mère,*[8] is of a most penetrating tenderness and lyrism. There are also individual verses of rare felicity that none but a genuine poet could have written.

Crémazie attained his highest power when he became a national bard and took up the themes so near to the French Canadian heart—idealised recollections of France, the traditions of loyal French warriors, sentimental yearnings for the old home and a real nostalgia for the Motherland. A genuine, intense revival of love of France took place in 1855, on the occasion of the visit to Canada of the French corvette, *La Capricieuse*. It was the first time that France reappeared in the St. Lawrence after a century. The national sensibility was profoundly stirred. Crémazie was its genuine interpreter. His poetry, so new, so earnest, so living, had wings when he composed *Le vieux soldat canadien,* his *Envoi aux marins de la Capricieuse,* and *Le drapeau de Carillon*. Here he was a bard indeed, but his *Un soldat de l'Empire, La guerre d'Italie,* later on, not attuned to popular enthusiasm, lose much of their power, though showing real talent.

In his Francophile poems he uses a language which reminds one of Béranger and Lamartine, splendidly exalting the old heroic France. These patriotic outbursts were read, recited, and commented upon by young men. For the poet the truths which they expressed were heart-burning realities stated with the earnestness of a prophet. He became one with Garneau in making the people believe, not

[8] *Oeuvres complètes,* p. 212.

only in the possibility of their national survival, but also in their having a literature of their own. In this work he freed himself from the cold formulæ of Canadian classicism, and gave his verse a romantic elasticity and freedom which not only revolutionised French Canadian poetry, but later on affected French Canadian prose. He has written only one hundred pages of verse, the best of which expresses in an almost perfect manner the French Canadian soul. So long as he clings to his great theme he is exceptional, soul-stirring, idealistic, and inspiring.

His work called forth so much admiration in Canada that Abbé Casgrain, without any sense of literary proportion, compares one of the poems of this Canadian poet with one of Lamartine's, and does not give the palm to the author of *Le Lac*. He does not realise that poets are to be judged by their entire work and not by one of their minor compositions. It is certain that many Laurentian poets repeated the themes and the forms of Crémazie. Less religious than they, he is genuinely and spontaneously patriotic. Scarcely influenced by Greece and Rome, he is Canadian to the core, and has delivered French Canadian poets from mythological servitude and a cold, formal prosody. According to Charles Abderhalden: "He was for an hour the voice of a whole people." [9] "For a long time," says Sir Adolphe Routhier, "he was, so to say, our only national singer; it was the soul of the fatherland that he sang." . . . Other "songs were born from his songs." . . . "Fréchette and Le May were heard." [10]

Louis Honoré Fréchette is unquestionably the great French Canadian poet, though few have been so criticised. William Chapman wrote a cruel volume against him.[11] Buies was one of his detractors. Abbé Camille Roy does

[9] *Etudes de littérature canadienne française*, p. 63.
[10] Huston, Vol. I, p. xli.
[11] *Le Lauréat*.

not conceal a lack of sympathy for this eminent son of French Canada,[12] who at times has signally varied in his interpretation of the great events and movements, wavered between his acceptance of contemporary European historical conclusions and those of the dogmatic history at home. In this he did what most of the great original poets have done —Goethe, Hugo, Browning, and Tennyson—they vacillated in their philosophical, historical, and religious opinions. Crémazie, exiled in Paris, far away from all prejudiced groups, rightly exclaims: "Fréchette . . . is the most magnificent poetical genius that Canada has produced." [13] The eulogies of other poets compensated him for the attacks of hostile men. The poem of Alfred Garneau, *A Louis Fréchette,* is a beautiful homage:

> *"Au poète,*
> *Dont vibre l'hymne ardent et clair."* [14]

Another poet with an English name, W. A. Baker, expressed his great admiration for him. Abbé Rainier passed a fine and philosophical judgment upon the ethical inspiration of Fréchette's poetry. At last Chapman, himself, wrote an apology to the wronged poet, and speaks:

> *Du vieux poète aimé que tout Canadien pleure.*
> . . . . . .
> *Nul ami ne versa plus de larmes amères,*
> *Nul ne fut torturé d'un chagrin plus profond.* [15]

Finally all French Canadian writers praised the man who, in France and in America, called the attention of cultivated people to the existence and qualities of French letters in the New World. The French Academy crowned

[12] *Nouveaux Essais sur la littérature canadienne.*
[13] *Oeuvres complètes,* p. 70.
[14] *Poésies,* p. 211.
[15] *Les Rayons du Nord,* p. 161.

his works, and that, for his countrymen, was an elevation to the rank of national poet.

Sir Adolphe Routhier made a very just remark in speaking of French Canadian oratory which applies equally to poetry: "In our country the facility of speech is a gift which one meets frequently, but it is not the same with ideas; they are rare, even among renowned orators." [16] Until recently French Canadian poetry has been comparatively deficient in ideas and dialectical grasp. There is not to be found in it, even in a small degree, that philosophical spirit which is everywhere present in Wordsworth, Shelley, Tennyson, Hugo, and Sully Prudhomme. Philosophy, among them, like their religion, is a practical creed, but not a living force, radiating through all the variations of their powers, poetry and all. This is true even in the case of Fréchette.

He is, first of all, a lyrical poet who gave expression to his feelings with felicity, even at an early date. He abandoned the themes which had so contributed to his newborn reputation to turn to satire, in which he mercilessly assailed his political enemies. He then excelled in sounding the trumpet of sarcasm and of irony. It has been said that he imitated *Les Châtiments* of Victor Hugo. There may be some truth in this, but it is impossible to be more one's self and more typically French Canadian than he was in this kind of literature. It has also been suggested that he followed too closely *La Légende des siècles,*[17] but the same could be said of other writers at that time. Like them he borrowed titles, and showed an intimate contact with the popular poets of France from whom he absorbed much. Is imitation within certain limits fatal to originality? One remembers the verse of Coppée:

[16] *De Québec à Victoria,* p. 185.
[17] Abbé C. Roy, *Nouveaux Essais,* p. 190.

Qui pourrai-je imiter pour être original? [18]

Granted that he imitated. Did he do so more than Corneille in *Le Cid* or Racine in *Andromaque* and *Iphigénie,* or Molière in *L'Avare?* French Canadian literature is largely built upon imitation, which was a characteristic trait of the classical literature of France. The verse of De Musset defending himself from being a copyist of Byron is still true:

C'est imiter quelqu'un que de planter des choux.

Modern science and especially sociological psychology, have shown that imitation is one of the greatest unconscious factors of human advance.

Fréchette's productions mark a signal progress in French Canadian poetical art. His poetry is living, even though at times he touches only the surface of things. His treatment of intimate subjects, his home lays, or those devoted to his friends are rich in emotion. His verses to children, or about children, are most tender. His shorter poems and sonnets have delightful endings with bright, sunny conclusions, and, not infrequently, sound generalisations. His descriptions of his beloved Canada are not second to his sketches of France. Though intensely Canadian and slightly nationalist, he has just praise for England, and while a republican, few have written more tenderly and justly of the great Queen. As a whole there is a fine ethical balance in his opinions. He even saw what he considered the moral qualities of Dr. Drummond's verses "which show love for the French rural man." [19] Fréchette's portraits of La Salle, of Laval, of Matthew Arnold, of Longfellow, of Crémazie, vital characterisations, are the work of an artist who sees true and of a man of rich sensibility. In all this he has also breathed the French Canadian spirit.

[18] Quoted by Ab der Halden, in *Nouvelles Etudes de littérature canadienne,* p. 295.

[19] Drummond, *The Habitant,* p. vi.

He differs from other Laurentian poets in the fact that he has a greater cult of France, though his eyes are mostly turned towards her heroic, and at times her military, annals.

In his epic poem, *La Légende d'un peuple,* he holds up to our admiration the valiant men of French Canadian history. Many of his critics have flung the shafts of their depreciation at the inferior parts of this work, but have sadly failed to point out its real merits. Some of his historical judgments may be matter for discussion; but, even then, several of them, like his *Papineau,* have a great poetic interest. He marks a signal departure from other poets in the fact that he has written here, not for his homeland, but for France, and that he has given a large place to the idea of change and of progress. He waxes eloquent when he praises "the great Christian liberty." "They blasphemed," he adds, "those who said that His beloved Son, Jesus, blessed slavery." [20] From the beginning to the end of his career he showed himself a God-loving man who reverences the great Father who stands behind all the forces of the cosmos. Hence the important vein of optimism in so many of his utterances. His people are neo-pacifists, but in his works, as in Crémazie's, the martial note is frequent. The form of his poetry is generally well sustained with now and then flourishes of the clarion and the sonorous boom of his rich verse.

Pamphile le May was long a popular poet largely devoted to the romance of the soil. He delighted in idealising the life of the common people and in intensifying their sense of contentment. It has been said that he penetrated more deeply than Fréchette into French Canadian life. Were this true one is at a loss to understand how he could give such dreadful and erroneous pictures of social environments as in *Le Pélerin de Sainte-Anne.* What more could the enemies of this people have done to misrepresent them? As a poet

[20] *Epaves,* p. 25.

he was popular indeed, and some parts of his work deserve the success which they have had. He enriched the literature of his country with a translation of the *Evangeline* of Longfellow. Adolphe Poisson was also devoted to home themes, which he treats with a tender emotion. His best work is to be found in his subjects from historical Canada. This is particularly true of *Le Sommeil de Montcalm*, but he lacks strength and earnestness, as well as real knowledge, when he lashes Governor Lawrence and evokes his brutal treatment of the Acadians.[21] His interpretations of French history are equally lamentable, though he gauges rightly that of his country, where the common people remained so loyal and so brave, and became the makers of the French Canada of to-day.

Most of the French Canadian enthusiasts of the Muses seem to have thrown a golden haze over their history, and their poems are touching by their simplicity and their lyric lilt. While they have genuine home inspiration they seem to have leaned towards the poetry of Lamartine's *Crucifix, Hymne de l'enfant à son réveil*, and his *Préludes*. In no part of their literature does one see so much the influence of the Motherland. One finds here traces of the *rapprochement* with the ancestral home which has more than kept pace with an obvious gravitation towards England. Their poems do not reflect the experimental temper of our age, the contemplation of nature, or much of observed life. They have taken for models, not the men about them, but writers. They refrain from portraying the great impulses of the heart. They stand fairly high in their means of poetic expression, though relatively poor in modern metaphors and poetic similes. We must mention here, as an exception, Alfred Garneau's *Poésies*. His forty-four poems are indices of the best and noblest mentality of French Canada. Some are brief, their inspiration may not be

[21] *Chants du soir*, 1917, pp. 53 and 141.

great, but the happy metaphors, their concreteness, contrast with the tendency to abstraction of some other poets. Taine had already stated *qu'il est doux de penser en musique.*[22] Hector Garneau tells us that his father could truly say, *Je pense en images,*[23] but these are the images of a refined singer.

Men of English names have contributed to this literature. William Chapman had two of his volumes, *Les Aspirations* and *Les Rayons du Nord,* crowned by the French Academy. At times he seems more nationalistic than the most enthusiastic natives. He, like them, takes up traditional themes of church and people, but he is much broader on account of his greater familiarity with England, France, and the life of to-day. With a thorough French culture and a knowledge of prosody which he often failed to carry out, he gravitates towards larger themes, knows important men of other nationalities, has a stronger hold of the great currents of modern civilisation, views them with the realism of British eyes, and yet, to some extent, blends with poetic qualities of the two peoples, though at times with conspicuous infelicities of language. His descriptions give us observed facts from which, not infrequently, he rises to fine poetic visions, but he lacks the accent of earnestness which makes martyrs and great poets. Several other English-French Canadian writers of verse could be mentioned.

One of their most eminent poets was Emile Nelligan, an Irish Canadian, adopted by a French Canadian family and educated by them. For a time he was editor of the *Franco-Canadien.* High strung, he had an extreme, artistic sensitiveness. He was influenced by Verlaine, Beaudelaire, Rollinat, and Rodenbach. He was a real æsthete. The fundamental note of his verse is sad, touching, excited, morbid, and pessimistic, though most kind. With an ex-

[22] H. Taine, *Sa vie et sa correspondance,* Vol. I, p. 211.
[23] Alfred Garneau, *Poésies,* p. iii.

traordinary play of imagination there is in it the genuine Hibernian feeling, expressed with exquisite tenderness, and an ever present melancholy. By his example he has deepened the subjectivity of some of his fellow poets. He was far from being an orthodox Catholic, though he had the religious feelings of the Irish. His themes are more or less detached from Canadian life, yet in some ways, he was its most spontaneous poet, with new and happy figures stamped with genius. He was really inspired. *"Ses strophes,"* says M. Abderhalden, *"chantaient d'elles mêmes, et sans études, il s'élevait plus haut que nul de ses prédécesseurs."* Without a philosophy or a great moral purpose, he was a singer of a high order "somewhat as the nightingale sings."[24] His life unfortunately ended like Guy de Maupassant's, in a pitiful mental wreck. Another distinguished Irish Canadian is the Hon. J. E. P. Prendergast, of Manitoba, who has written French verse of considerable worth. Judge of the Court of King's Bench, he has been honoured with the higher functions of politics and of magistracy, and is, perhaps, the best representative of French letters west of Quebec.

French Canada has been so surrounded by a Chinese wall of prejudice that outsiders are unaware of the extent of its poetic culture. Some forty years ago Benjamin Sulte spoke of one hundred and seventy-five poets.[25] The *Anthologie des poètes canadiens,* by Jules Fournier, 1920, gives us the names and extracts from eighty-two verse writers. A great reduction has to be made in this number. One is not a poet because he has scribbled a few tolerable poems. There is among all these sons of song a profound differentiation from the work of bygone days. The old patriotic poetry no longer excites the same interest. Religious poetry has changed its character and

[24] *Etudes de lit. can. franc,* p. 353.
[25] *Royal Society,* Vol. II, p. 36.

one notices everywhere philosophical tendencies.[26] That which was devoted to traditional thought, with its pre-evolutionary spirit, has become living and given a new vitality to their home poetry. Jules Tremblay, taking all the old themes, does so in a new way and with verses of rare perfection. Albert Ferland belongs to this noble group with lofty æsthetics and ethics. He has many of the traits of Sully Prudhomme, a close adherence to facts, within a very narrow range, and a great care of form, the whole wrapped in an intense mystic atmosphere. His *Canada chanté* has considerable beauty. The themes of former poets—the country, nature, the woods, are still there, but seen more poetically.

A most pathetic member of this fraternity is Albert Lozeau.[27] Kept at home by illness, he has been confined to his own world of thought and the service of books for the conception of his own poetic world. Subjective, personal, intensely lyrical, his verses win his readers. He sings of his own life. Some one has said that this physically helpless man is the only poet in French Canada who has written "love verses worthy of the name." [28] This may be doubted, but the compliment has its significance. More truly could be applied to him the words of Shelley:

> ". . . Most wretched men
> Are cradled into poetry by wrong,
> They learn in suffering what they teach in song."

He is fond of anything that has especial action upon his sensibility. His love of music is intense, not to say passionate. He is far from the religious fervour of Le May and others. For him there is more faith in honest doubt than in half the creeds. By no means a skeptic, the intellectual elements, the whys and the wherefores assert

[26] Ab der Halden, *Etudes de lit. can. franc.*, pp. 310, 311.
[27] *L'Ame solitaire, Miroir des jours, Lauriers et feuilles d'érable.*
[28] Ab der Halden, *Nouvelles études de lit. can.*, p. 333.

themselves in his verse. He has the ups and downs of poetic temperaments, resignation and discouragements with courageous virility and stoicism:

> *Soyons tels. Quand la vie au souffle de la douleur,*
> *Dans nos yeux, quelquefois fera parler les pleurs,*
> *Et ploiera notre corps vers une froide tombe,*
> *Gardons toujours au front la fierlé des vainqueurs.*

Taken all and all, his poetic keyboard is a large and varied one, free from the rhetoric of many. He died recently.

In the evolution of French Canadian poetry, one sees many evidences of the influence of Alfred de Vigny and of Théophile Gautier, leading some of these poets to assume aristocratic positions and to display no little class pride. Rightly enough they oppose plutocratic tendencies. Some have a leaning toward Free-thought, displaying at the same time considerable originality. Réné Chopin is well known for his *Cœur en exil*. The underlying idea of the title is that France is the favoured land of culture, art, and poetry. Some one has said that the volume is a homage to the land of Hugo. The implication is that he is in exile in the mental, moral, and religious environments of his own country. Abbé Camille Roy speaks of this book in which the poet wanders in "dreams of obscure godlessness," [29] but in Paris it received high praise. For one of the critics this is a work of sincere lyrism and of finished art. "Its images are new," said another, and its general qualities represent "a beautiful and high poetry." In Jean Charbonneau's opinion Chopin excels by the clearness, the simplicity, and the originality of his poems.[30]

The late Charles Gill was a descendant of a New England prisoner, at the time of the French-English wars, who chose

[29] *Histoire de la littérature française*, p. 99.
[30] *Des Influences françaises au Canada*, Vol. I, p. 117.

to remain in Canada. A painter and a poet, he had absorbed much of the lyrical ideas of contemporary France. He had a soul capable of the most beautiful flights with the æsthetics of visual arts. In his prose he rises to a beauty as charming as his verse, and in some ways as real a poetry. He was profoundly individualistic in a social world of strict moral and religious conformity, and at this point broke away from his humanitarian home traditions. Unlike the poets that we have spoken of, he has disdain for the masses, but his best work would win the praises of the fair-minded critics of France. The thought of the group to which Charles Gill belonged, whatever be their purpose in other respects, tends to destroy the stereotyped forms of French Canadian poetry. One of these men is Justice Gonzalve Désaulniers, who has not as yet given the full measure of his powers. His exquisite poem, *Pour la France,* is the Crémazian theme, broadened so as to include contemporary France, with her moral continuity and her heroic life. His other productions include a great variety of themes from nature to man, treated with force and beauty. He has been pointed out as a disciple of Lamartine, Hugo, and others, poets whose works he has read and meditated, but whatever may have been the unconscious influence of these masters, he is a poet of rare spontaneity, whether he gives his impressions of men or things. He has a charming quietude of sentiment. He permeates with his poetic mind verses sprung from the depths of his very being, in a serene art, happy and dignified, that comes most naturally into the field of his prosody. He really does not make verses but lives them. So possessed by his art is he that in some of his speeches one is struck by short, regular sentences, following one another, real Alexandrine verses, that none but a true poet could have uttered.

Paul Morin has taken a high stand in his work, though his poetic doctrine of the "unmorality" of art, of art for

art's sake, which he has applied to exotism, a doctrine which has lost ground, even in France, its birthplace, seems an anachronism. He has attained a great virtuosity in descriptive art, celebrating in his verses the beauties of southern Europe and of the Orient, but with fundamental ideas which have little in touch with the poetic traditions of the country. His principal work, *Le Paon d'Email*, in which one finds most captivating pieces of value for their subject-matter as well as for their refinement of form, is striking by a new spirit a, new view of things, and new æsthetics.

The poetry of Jean Charbonneau [31] also departs so much from the usual range of home lays that one must pause to gauge the new state of mind expressed in his poems and to grasp their philosophical significance. We have spoken of him as a critic who is opening a new horizon for French Canadian literature, but here we must show him as one of the most original verse-makers of his country. He has written poems of unusual energy, a large wealth of ideas and suggestiveness, new points of view with long vistas of thought; a decided departure from the conceptions of the church and of her universities, the deepest questionings of a doubter ever pondering upon the essence of things, with the most independent thoughts setting aside all the answers of Roman Catholic minds, new conceptions of art with lines which distinguished poets of France would be willing to father, poems of rich substance, though to us of a doubtful philosophy and more doubtful ethics,[32] a poetry which, with all its charm and beauty, leads us into a most discouraging pessimism. One great surprise in reading his work is the frequent expression of contempt for the prosaic masses. His poetic creations, by their strength and music, make one think of Shelley, and have sterling worth even

[31] *Le Blessures; L'Âge de sang; Les Prédestinés.*
[32] *Les Blessures*, pp. 18, 27, 57, 162, 173, 174.

though they mark such a signal differentiation in the French Canadian poetic homogeneity.

We have already laid stress upon the large number of French Canadian poets from the earliest to Jean Nolin, who recently published *Les Cailloux*. Some have a limited inspiration, others soon come to the end of their powers, not to speak of those who draw near the borderland of poetic petrification; but a number of them are good, inspiring poets who have an elevating message for their country. Relatively poor in the realm of psychology and the interpretations of human experience, scarcely imaginative, there is, however, more thought, more spontaneous life, more originality, in their poetry than in all the other fields of their literature. They have the cult of form and seldom free themselves from the obsession that rhythm and rimes constitute the soul of poetry. Poetry is primarily idealised substance, facts, ideas, spirit, feelings, life, and lives especially by the great thoughts, the ideal visions of men, the inspiration to high living, thereby blooming into lyrical fulness; form, however important, is not the essential but the vital subordinate.

The poetic culture of French Canadians is exceptional, and takes a large place in the life of the higher classes. Rarely does one find there the absence of this noble art. Forty-nine of the poets mentioned in Fournier's *Anthologie* have been connected with journalism, fourteen studied in Quebec Seminary, thirteen with the Jesuits in Montreal, and some twenty-five in the various colleges, a fact which shows that educational efforts are made to help this culture. Poetry is what they discuss most in their gatherings and literary societies. Professor Arnould says that they seem "to write better in verse than in prose," [33] but has there ever been a poetic movement, in any country, which did not ultimately benefit prose also? It tends to renovate the

[33] *Nos Amis les Canadiens*, p. 187.

language, to give it more plastic qualities, to make it more metaphorical and more concrete. Listen to their young orators in their gatherings and one has a sense that there is a certain communion between them and the masters of song. Their poetry permeates and perfumes their prose even at times with a little preciosity.

This is evident in the following characterisation of French Canadian poets by Judge Adjutor Rivard:

"Crémazie est l'aède du patriotisme qui se souvient et espère toujours, Fréchette le chantre de l'épopée française en Amérique, Le May, le poète de l'idyle et de l'églogue canadienne, Legendre est le poète de la famille et du foyer de chez nous." [34]

In *Une Croisade d'adolescents* Abbé Groulx has related with poetic pathos the religious experience of young students who organised among themselves a virtual Christian Endeavour Society. This book is striking in this respect. In his *Les Rapaillages,* while relating his own past, he describes his old home life in lyrical accents, and with, now and then, most beautiful poetical outbursts.[35] We know of no lines more soul-moving than when Abbé Camille Roy speaks of the cradles that had rocked his numerous brothers and himself:

"Vingt berceaux avaient tour à tour, sur son pavé inégal, roulé leurs cadences, et il les avait si tendrement portés! Et il avait autour d'eux si amoureusement répandu et fait voltiger et flotter l'âme familiale!" [36]

Again, hear the Hon. Athanase David, at a banquet given in Montreal to Prime Minister Taschereau. In a political speech dealing with the province he referred to de Lotbinière, who, at the time of the discussion of the Quebec Act, spoke before the Parliament in London, and Sir Thomas Frankland said to him, *Parlez un peu plus haut, s'il vous*

[34] *Royal Society,* III, p. 73.
[35] PP. 30, 47, 86, 101, 130.
[36] *Propos canadiens,* p. 9.

plaît.[38] M. David urges Quebeckers to speak louder, and rises to an impressive poetical height as he urges the province to voice more highly her very life and character:

"Voix de Québec, qui depuis trois siècles chante les beautés du pays canadien et l'attachement au verbe, étincelle de vie, que lui confia la France."

"Voix de Québec, forte comme la vague, constante comme la marée, que l'obstacle ne saurait arrêter; Voix de Québec, celle de l'humble colon luttant contre la forêt avec le désir d'agrandir le domaine national;"

Voix de Québec, celle du fier agriculteur qui profondément enraciné dans la terre canadienne, lui demande sans relâche la générosité de ses moissons magnifiques;

"Voix de Quebec, celle du paisible ouvrier qui résiste aux théories qui minent et qui ruinent, conservant la gaîté qui fait accepter sans murmure le plus dur les labeurs;"

"Voix de Québec, celle du financier, de l'industrial, qui ajoute à l'harmonie et qui se dit reconnaissante de trouver ici la paix sociale assurant la permance des entreprises;"

"Voix de Québec, celle du petit enfant qui sait que, pour tous l'école est un autel devant lequel doit sans cesse brûler les feux d'un ardent patriotisme;"

"Voix de Québec, celle d'une minorité qui se doit à elle-même de redire à tous la justice, la modération, la tolérance qu'elle trouve dans notre province, et le sincère désir de ceux avec qui elle habite de conserver ici les éléments essentiels de l'équité;"

"Voix de Québec, enfin qui malgré son désir de paix durable, n'entend pas taire les leçons du passé ni la justification actuelle des principes qui la firent toujours vibrer;"

"Quelle soit donc éclatante, la voix du vieux Québec! Qu'elle s'élève maintenant sans crainte dans un Canada, soudain attentif, qui retrouve en elle l'expression nette de

[37] Cavendish, p. 161.

la justice, de la paix, de l'harmonie, le cri du bon sens qui rallie et dirige."

Apart from the political philosophy and the beautiful idealisation of the national spirit which it contains, such prose has the charm and dignity of worthy verse. One is amazed to find it as the eloquent conclusion of a political speech.

Mr. John Castell Hopkins has given a broad-minded and just appreciation of this literature. "French Canada has produced a poetry that is in some respects the best which this continent has seen, and is not inferior in a general way to that of English Canada or the United States; it has developed a certain form of culture which has reacted upon its journalism and language and oratory; it has exhibited qualities of lightness and deftness of touch, simplicity and, at times, richness of style, which are French in the main, yet local to the soil in certain details." [38] He might have added that it has been a beneficent force in the life of the nation.

[38] *French Canada, etc.*, p. 341.

CHAPTER XXII

THE ART OF FRENCH CANADA

ONE of the most striking psychological traits of French Canadians is their general æsthetic sensitiveness and temperament which have served them well during their artistic history, and made them, thereby, open to impressions from all the arts. They brought over with them taste and traditions that Anglo-Canadians never had. With them art was honoured in most churches; missionaries made use of it. The Jesuit, Jean Pierron, taught some of the doctrines of the church to the Red men by means of paintings,[1] and, at an early date, it was recognised almost as having an exclusive religious function.[2] Towards the end of the seventeenth century Quebec Seminary had two or three sculptors in its employ,[3] and the pupils of the St. Joachim summer school did well in their sculptural work, though less successful with painting.[4] Art played such a part in their religious life that the Ursulines of Quebec had sisters capable of repairing pictures. One of them made a restoration of "The Assumption." [5] They also had gifted gilders.[6] Bishop de Pontbriand was an expert in embroideries on velvet and silk of ecclesiastical vestments. It was while he attempted to teach a young man the production of these ornaments that he left some important ones of his own to the Quebec cathedral.[7]

[1] P. G. Roy, *Les petites choses de l'histoire*, Vol. I, p. 115.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 120.
[3] Gosselin, *L'Instruction*, p. 361.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 363.
[5] *Les Ursulines de Québec*, Vol. IV, p. 460.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 648.
[7] *Les Ursulines des Trois-Rivières*, p. 335.

Their wants were also met by artists who came to Canada from the Old World. Luc Lefrançois, who became a Recollet in 1645, lived in Canada for a certain number of years, and churches in the vicinity of Quebec still own some of his paintings. Father André Perron produced his work between 1660 and 1673. We mention, by the way, Créqui, born in Quebec, who had his training there. Several of his paintings were burned in the chapel of the seminary, but the church of L'Islet is still in possession of his "Annonciation." William von Moll Berczy, a Saxon, took up secular subjects, but at the same time made some contributions to religious art. Some of his works may be seen in the churches of Longueuil and Vaudreuil. The plundering and sacking of churches and monasteries in France, at the time of the French Revolution, brought to Canada numerous paintings of rare excellence.[8] These remarkable works of art of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were distributed to various institutions and churches, thereby creating greater interest. The fires which destroyed the Basilica of Quebec, the chapel of the seminary, and several other churches either burned or destroyed not far from sixty paintings of great value within a few years. These were especially appreciated by the better class, while the masses, enjoying the *images d'Epinal,* showed the same fondness for pictorial art.

At about this time Louis Quévillon, at St. Vincent de Paul, gradually evolved a trade guild of men attempting, in every way, to build splendid places of worship, or to beautify them.[9] This revival of the old corporative life of former days, in France, produced numerous architects, church builders, and decorators who have left magnificent specimens of their work. The illustrations published by M. Vaillancourt cannot but surprise those who are not

[8] Faucher de St. Maurice, *Loin du pays,* Vol. II, pp. 126-129.
[9] Émile Vaillancourt, *Une Maîtrise d'art en Canada,* p. 12.

acquainted with this important phase of religious construction. Quévillon, his pupils and companions, practised the style, popular in France under Louis XV and Louis XVI, known in the district of Montreal as *quévillonnage,*[10] but they were not exclusively bound by it. The statement of Mr. E. F. B. Johnston that, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, "Canada was devoid of art atmosphere" [11] does not apply to French Canada, where the church and tradition created such an atmosphere, and an intelligence of art which is visible in many parts of the province.

On account of this love of the beautiful they have had a signal success in giving to some of their towns an appearance which is most attractive. Their old mansions have graceful, curved lines which impart to them an impressive character. Particularly below Quebec they evolved a charming type of country architecture,[12] though in the rural districts much of what has been recently constructed is decidedly homely. In the city of Quebec itself their monuments have happily been placed amidst vistas of incomparable beauty. That of Champlain, by MM. Chevré and Cardonel of Paris, is a wonderful work. It has the character of great art, and from whatever point of view it is contemplated impresses one by its graceful lines and its heroic personality, the whole intensified by its marvellous environment and historic associations. On one side the Château Frontenac, imposing by its grandeur and the history that it evokes, adds to the monument. The view on all sides is magnificent and unique, especially that which commands the St. Lawrence and the country beyond. They were French Canadians, the men who chose the artists, and sought the highest use of their incomparable æsthetic opportunities. What an extraordinary artistic feat!

The *Hôtel du gouvernement,* the government building, of

[10] Émile Vaillancourt, p. 16.
[11] *Canada and Its Provinces,* Vol. XIX, p. 597. [12] *Ibid.,* p. 668.

Quebec, is noteworthy. The plans were the work of Eugène Taché. The structure is a fine specimen of the best seventeenth century Renaissance. Apart from its adaptation to the provincial service, which is good, it is a most admirable embodiment of all that touches the annals of the country. Here, indeed, it is true that the French have the lion's share. In the Assembly Room is a fine painting by Charles Huot, representing the arrival of Cartier on the St. Lawrence; and a fine fresco, recalling the great men, French and English, who were the makers of French Canada, a rich symbolistic creation, full of suggestions, whose theme is given out in a light-coloured, graceful banderole: *Je me souviens.*[13]

The statuary is unusually rich. The sculptor, Philippe Hébert, with great artistic power, has contributed his statues of Wolfe, Montcalm, Frontenac, Lévis, Elgin, and Salaberry. The same sculptor made also, An Indian Family and Indian Spearer, the groups of Poetry and History, Religion and the Fatherland, all most impressive and much admired. Laliberté made the statues of the Jesuits, Marquette and Brébeuf, the Intendant Talon, and Lord Dorchester. In front of the building are statues of Mercier and of the historian Garneau, both by Chevré. "All that architecture," says Ernest Gagnon, speaking of the building, "is truly French, with a peculiar stamp in which stands out the learned, the original, and the distinguished personality of the architect, Eugène Taché."[14] He should be given unstinted praise for his work. There has seldom been erected a great structure in which the personality of its author was less prominent, and that is a compliment to him. The building is a noble specimen of a dignified art. A French Canadian artist whose reputation was well estab-

[13] Since this was written, that beautiful symbolistic work has been modified by the artist in a way that is not happy.

[14] *Le Palais législatif de Québec,* p. 42.

lished in the land of Michelangelo, A. S. Falardeau, speaking of it, said, "It is an admirable palace which would be an ornament for the most beautiful of our Italian cities." [15]

The new æsthetic spirit of the French Canadians shows itself more and more in their architecture. The court-house of Montreal, until a new story was added to it, was a fine specimen of Renaissance architecture. The St. Sulpice Library, by Eugène Payette, has a monumental form, sheltering a most precious collection of books, and is the meeting-place of various select French Catholic organisations. The Municipal library of the same city—the work of the same architect—is even a richer and happier creation. The Montreal Technical School is impressive and graceful. The School of High Commercial Studies, on Viger Square, is probably the finest and most dignified structure devoted to that purpose in North America. The same spirit is displayed in many educational erections, like the academies, Querbes, Meilleur, Marchand, and the schools, Sénart and Gédéon Ouimet.

Their early churches, and most of the later ones, had their forms largely determined by historical recollections and by the clergy, as well as by climatic necessities. The sharp-pointed roofs, tin-covered, were demanded, as otherwise a large amount of snow would have lodged there. E. F. B. Johnston characterises these structures as follows: "The older parish churches throughout the province have usually some striking quality of design, and in many cases are adorned with charming spires and flêches sheeted in tin. This material, which weathers to a lustrous golden tint and was used for the roofing of all the more substantial buildings before the advent of galvanised iron gave character to the towns and villages of the province." [16]

Old French romanesque architecture is rare. A simple

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 44.
[16] *Canada and Its Provinces*, Vol. XII, p. 670.

form of neo-Gothic prevailed with exceptions largely borrowed from Italy. French Canadians, like all admirers of the grand and beautiful, have not been able to escape a fascination for the sublime building of Michelangelo, who, seeing the cupola of the Pantheon, said: "I will place it in the air." St. Peter's is a temple erected upon a church.[17] The plans of the church of Yamashish made by a pupil of Quévillon, Alexis Milette,[18] were an imitation of the central idea of the great Italian artist, some said of Soufflot, the architect of the Pantheon of Paris. One of the finest groups of buildings of the province with a happy use of a handsome cupola is the Hôtel-Dieu of Montreal.[19] The desire to have in Canada a reproduction of St. Peter's of Rome was fairly general. Bourgeau, a simple workingman, who, by steady efforts, had become an architect, was sent to Rome to make the plans for such an edifice in Montreal; [20] but the great masterpiece of the Eternal City is unique and any imitation could not but be disappointing. The last plans were made by the Rev. Father Michaud of the Oblates.[21] The Notre-Dame Church is not without a certain grandeur. "It is," says Théodore de Pavie, "a basilica entirely Gothic, constructed by a Scotchman, after drawings from the cathedrals of York and Canterbury and the masterly work of Pugens, upon the wonderful cathedral of Rouen." [22] The effect is imposing; the interior, with its gilt and excessive ornaments, does not seem in keeping with the refined spirit of the Sulpicians who built it.

One finds everywhere in the cities a great improvement in religious architectural conceptions and a greater variety of works. This is far from true of rural districts. The new

[17] Mme. de Staël, *Corinne*, p. 75.
[18] Vaillancourt, p. 91.
[19] *Canada and Its Provinces*, Vol. XII, p. 670.
[20] Bibaud, p. 57.
[21] M. V. Alloway, *Famous Firesides of French Canada*, p. 65.
[22] *Souvenirs atlantiques. Voyage aux Etats-Unis et au Canada*, Vol. I, p. 159.

churches, especially in Montreal, mark considerable progress. One of their architects, J. O. Marchand, has designed religious structures of great beauty. His earliest important construction is the cathedral of St. Boniface. His plans calling for a structure of $800,000 had to be placed upon a Procrustes' bed of $300,000, so that this fine building was shorn of much of its beauty, yet it has character, stateliness, and a dignity that makes one regret that the original plan was not carried out. One may deplore, also, that accessories, introduced since, have not been happy. There were placed in it a large crucifix and the Way of the Cross, which, choice as they are, do not harmonise with the noble structure. It was, when built, and still remains, one of the finest specimens of church architecture in the west of Canada and is never so impressive as when, on Sunday, it is filled with its God-fearing population. It is then especially that one feels the power of Marchand's work. The æsthetic qualities of a Christian church can never be realised so well as when it is filled with worshippers and when there is vital harmony between both. Then and then only can one feel the influence of religious architecture and music in their potent combination.

One of his constructions which will ever excite the admiration of religious art lovers is the chapel of the seminary of Montreal, where the Sulpicians devote themselves to the training of the clergy. They thought that their students, future priests, should have practical notions of ecclesiastical art, should understand its relations to religious feelings and its function in worship. Marchand made a wonderful use of his opportunities and erected a chapel of rare beauty. Though comparatively a small structure it has the qualities of great art. One scarcely knows what to admire most, its severe simplicity or the unity of the whole, brought to perfection with the richest materials, without a flaw anywhere. What renders his work even more remarkable is

that he had, in part at least, to embody in the construction the walls of the old chapel. However, it appeals potently to one's religious sensibility. It seems to say, *Oremus*. Not far from this one is charmed by the monastery of the *Dames de la Congrégation,* and its chapel built by the same architect. It is a different type of building but unusually fine. The chapel of the College of Ste. Anne de la Pocatière is also an exquisite product of this movement which is bound to grow. The resources of the province are increasing. French Canadians more and more visit Europe, and the sojourn in Rome of their theological students will accelerate this phase of religious interest.

The art which expresses their loyalty and patriotism has been happier than that of Anglo-Canadians. One is inclined to ask who, in Montreal, sanctioned the outlandish monument of Sir John Macdonald, on Dominion Square. Most of the statues of the great Queen are virtual insults to one of the noblest women that ever sat on a throne. The one in the Quebec Parliament is too common to have a place there or anywhere. Her bust in Winnipeg, unveiled on the occasion of the sixtieth anniversary of her reign, is a case of *lèse-majesté.* We experience a great disappointment with her statue in front of the Royal Victoria College, while that on Victoria Square, though better, is far from being what Lord Dufferin called "a perpetual ornament" for the city.[23] We must turn again to the French Canadian sculptor, Philippe Hébert, for a statue of Queen Victoria in Ottawa that has greater grace and truth of expression, and to that of King Edward, on Philip Square, Montreal. Here he is a real King, full of life, of dignity, and free from all the banalities of conventional royal art. While in London Hébert was greatly admired by artists of distinction.[24]

This eminent sculptor studied six years in Montreal, under Napoléon Bourassa, who had discovered the worth

[23] George Stewart, Jr., p. 86.

[24] Moore, p. 305.

of the aspiring artist,[25] and then spent many years in Paris to attain his mastership. He was one of the most prolific of Canadian sculptors. His magnificent bronze of Sir George Cartier has been mentioned. He also made a statue of Sir John Macdonald for Ottawa. While it is far from famous, it stands in striking contrast to the fanciful one in Montreal. In the capital he appears as a great personal force capable of building an empire. Hébert collaborated with another Canadian artist in the statue of William Lyon Mackenzie which stands near the Parliament buildings. Besides these works and those of the *hôtel du gouvernement* of Quebec, we must, among others, mention the statue of Salaberry in Chambly.

His intense loyalty to his people and to his church led him with enthusiasm into the field of the religious history of the province. It is in this domain that Hébert did his most important work. Beautiful are his statues of Laval in Quebec and Bourget in Montreal. They are splendid idealisations of the two prelates. The first, one of the greatest personalities of Canadian religious history, gave him a rare opportunity to display his powers; the other is too near us for poetic expression in bronze, and withal a lesser personage. He put his whole soul in figures like that of Madeleine Verchères, the young heroine, only fourteen years old, who, with the help of one soldier and a few women, in the fort of Verchères, resisted for several days a party of Iroquois Indians. He revived the person of Jeanne Mance, the founder of the Hôtel-Dieu of Montreal, and, above all, that of Maisonneuve. Here we have not only the heroic founder of this city, a man of the most positive religious heroism, full of life and dignity, but the artistic evocation of a whole epoch. In some way, without narrowing his personal theme of Maisonneuve, he admirably represented the tragic situation of the first hour. The monu-

[25] *La Revue nationale,* January, 1921, p. 10.

ment is on the *Place d'Armes,* between the imposing Notre Dame Church and the beautiful Montreal Bank. Hébert is remarkable for his indefatigable activity, his love of truth, and his religious spirit. Two of his sons have also devoted themselves to art.

Alfred Laliberté, as a sculptor, is now without a peer among his countrymen. Most interesting is the romance of his success from the ax, in the forest of Arthabaska, to the tools that wrought his works. The paradox of Théophile Gautier that a poet should not publish anything until he has written 50,000 verses, has been almost carried out by this artist in statuary from his sixth year, when he carved wooden figures with his knife, until he produced his best works. He might say "My rank as an artist is of my own winning." His countrymen are now doing him justice, as was done in Paris by competent judges. His great theme also is French Canadian life and history, studied minutely, conscientiously, with an endless capacity for painstaking, rising from a sound realism to the ideal. His statues have souls. The two hundred pieces, embodying rural and Indian subjects in the artist's collection, bewilder the thoughtful observer, who inquires how one man has been able to achieve so much during his apprenticeship and then create his best personages.

We have pointed out his contributions to the statues of the Quebec Parliament buildings. At the city hall of Montreal he has busts of Jacques Viger, of Peter McGill, and of Sexton. In the Senate in Ottawa he has one of Sir Robert Borden. His first great public recognition came with the monument erected to Louis Hébert, the first farmer of Canada, who, when everyone was sceptical about the agricultural possibilities of the land, demonstrated their practicability. The artist represents him, in Quebec, offering to Heaven the first wheat grown in the land. Of great beauty are the two figures at the foot of the monument,

that of Hébert's wife, one of the finest idealisations of the French Canadian wife and mother, and that of his son-in-law, Couillard. We would like to speak of his busts, mostly of friends, in which his heart has warmly spoken. His *magnum opus* is the monument of Dollard, unveiled on June 24, 1920, Dollard who, with sixteen others of Montreal, went to what they knew was certain death, to arrest a mass of Iroquois coming to destroy the settlement. The hero is represented at the moment of the supreme sacrifice. Here the artist expressed, with rare power, the noblest heroism recorded in art. The face of Laocoön seems scarcely more tragic than that of the statue of this self-sacrificing Frenchman.

We have seen how a great current of religious artistic interest was created in Quebec and was broadened and deepened by the work of various artists. There was Louis Dulongpré, a Frenchman, who had served under Rochambeau and, later on, settled in Canada. He made portraits and among them that of Papineau. Cornelius Kreighoff, a Dutch painter who had taken a French Canadian wife, found many of his subjects in Quebec and left many fine pictures of the popular life which now have much historical value and are almost priceless. Antoine Plamondon owed his training at home and his stay of a year in Paris, where he became a pupil of P. Guérin, to the protection of an ecclesiastic. To the same clergyman he was indebted for his position as a teacher of drawing in Quebec Seminary. It was probably between his return to Canada and the appointment to this position that Plamondon's return to the plough took place, according to Garneau, because there was no demand for art.[26] Anglo-Canadians, in similar circumstances, could easily find opportunities in the United States, or even in Great Britain. This artist stayed at home and gave lessons to Théophile Hamel before the latter started for France as

[26] *Voyage en Angleterre et en France*, p. 229.

a student. During his long life "this teacher of drawing" did much original work, and copies of his religious paintings are still to be seen in the churches. His portraits of Gregory XVI, of Mgr. Denaut, and of Mgr. Signay have for us an historic interest. Lord Durham gave him a gold medal for his painting of Zacharie Vincent, the last of the Hurons. Many of his works are scattered through the province. Some of them are in the church of Pointe-aux-trembles where he was buried.

A. S. Falardeau succeeded, after great hardships, in going to study in Florence, where he entered the school of fine arts about 1850. In a competition for a copy of the St. Jerome of Correggio, in Parma, he won the first prize, and that opened the way for him to artistic fame. The Duke of Parma made him a Knight of St. Louis of Parma. Speaking of Plamondon's copy, an Italian critic, at the time, said that with such a copy the loss of the original would be small.[27] He excelled in portraits and reproductions of the old masters. John Bright and General Scott, the American victor over the Mexicans at Chapultepec, were among his patrons.[28] The picture gallery of Laval University has two of his copies, Salvator Rosa's Castellamare and Raphael's Jesus on the Cross.

The two Hamels, Théophile and Eugène his nephew, enjoyed considerable popularity, but copies and portraits are predominant in their record. Théophile seems to have done more original work and work of a religious nature now to be seen in churches. His copy of the Martyrdom of St. Peter of Verona, by Titian, is very precious now, as it is well done, and since then the original has been destroyed by fire. Among his portraits are those of Lord Elgin, of D. B. Viger, of L. J. Papineau, of Sir L. H. La Fontaine, and of other Canadians of note. A list of eighty-one of the works of Eugène has four copies from masters, five original

[27] Casgrain, Vol. II, p. 27. [28] Bibaud, p. 116.

paintings upon historical subjects, and seventy-two portraits, among which is a fine one of P. J. O. Chauveau, of the educator Meilleur, of Oscar Dunn, of many dignitaries of the church, and of political men. Mercier and Sir Lomer Gouin were also painted by him. Poor François Millet, after selling his *Angelus* for a mere song, was compelled to make drawings at five francs a piece; for the same reason these artists made portraits. The increasing wealth of French Canadians will give a great impulse to the art of the province.

A French Canadian from the Rivière-du-Loup, settled in England, was T. Sebron, who gained popularity by one of his paintings, *The Royal Family* in the chapel of Windsor. Bibaud describes it as follows: "A first group is that of the Queen and Prince Albert. The chaplain moves toward them with his head inclined. Upon his face, respect for the Sovereign allies itself well with the seriousness, the goodness and affability which become his ministry. Behind the Queen, in another group, are the Duke of Wellington, two ladies in waiting, and, after them, comes Sir Robert Peel. The interior of the chapel is most impressive, the light of the stained glass windows spreads its radiant beams under the splendid arches, rebounds far, plays upon the woodwork, bringing out all the figures of the painting and giving to the whole a magnificent relief." [29]

The Hon. Joseph Légaré, self-taught, won the respect of intelligent art critics, and earned the reputation of a good landscape painter. So honoured was he, as a man as well as an artist, that he was made a senator for life. Bibaud says that in this he shared the fortune of Louis David, appointed a member of the French Senate by Napoleon. He made a valuable collection of paintings which, with most of his own, are in the art gallery of Laval where are also pictures of Le Sueur, Parrocel, Romanelli, Salvator

[29] *Dictionnaire historique*, p. 296.

Rosa, Vernet, Van Dyck, Simon Vanet, Tintoretto, Poussin, Puget, Albani, and David. In the church of Notre-Dame des Anges are also some of his religious works. Until recently the best pictorial art in French Canada has kept close to church patronage, to church inspiration, and to spiritual environments.

Reference has been made to the paintings of Charles Huot, in connection with the Quebec Government Building, but that is not his only work. After leaving the Laval Normal School where he studied, he made quite a sojourn in Europe. He more than made good the promises of his early efforts. He exhibited great virtuosity in his works, great accuracy and charm, which pointed him out as the man capable of enriching, artistically, the interior of the Parliament Building, and this, as we have seen, he did with success. He has also decorated the St. Patrick and the St. Sauveur churches in the city of Quebec. He has done some genre painting and even portraits. To him we owe that of the exceptional French Canadian scientist, Mgr. Laflamme. Several of his pupils reflect great credit upon him. One of them is Antonio Masselotte who devoted himself to religious art, and the other, the late Edmond le Moine, the nephew of Buies, whose portrait he painted. Last year there was held in Quebec an exhibition of his works. He must have displayed great activity, if we judge by the number of paintings which were placed before the public—portraits, historical and religious pictures, and beautiful landscapes.

Notwithstanding a tendency towards religious absorption of their pictorial art and their traditional æsthetics, new elements have affected it; the rise of individualism, travel, studies in Europe, a wider education, the influence of literature, the growth of the poetic spirit, and the stronger throb of life. Artists are larger men, illuminated by the light of a broader knowledge, with a keen sense of form, and

influenced by parent arts. Some of these men have won laurels in literature. Napoléon Bourassa, sculptor and painter, decorated the church of Our Lady of Lourdes, in Montreal, as well as other churches and wrote the charming historical novel, *Jacques et Marie.* Charles Gill, with a noble record as a poet, was an artist of delicate sensibility whose art has the breath of life. He had refined perceptions, and for him form belongs as much to the soul as to the subjectmatter. In his poetic prose, in his verse, and in his pictorial achievements one feels the same æsthetic pulse of a great talent, leaning towards impressionism. An exhibit of his work in Montreal was a revelation to the public. He, like others, entered into the movement of sympathy with nature which, like its study, is growing in his country. He has left us exquisite landscape paintings. He is perhaps rather more remarkable for the distinction than for the energy of his work.

French Canadians have also done well in black and white. Eugène Etienne Taché, apart from the plans which he made of the Quebec Parliament Buildings, has left also fine designs. The most important artist in this field was Henri Julien, who rose from his work as an engraver to that of a draughtsman and journalist, and then to that of a painter. "From an old priest slightly erratic," says Justice Gonsalve Désaulniers, "he secured the rudiments of his art." It is especially as a cartoonist and a newspaper illustrator that he displayed his rich gifts. He worked with passionate inspiration and attained such a reputation by his contributions to the *Montreal Star,* that tempting offers were made to him from New York, from England, and even from Australia, but he could not leave the land so near his heart. It may be doubted if, elsewhere than in his bilingual, bi-national Canada, he would have felt the same inspiration. What will be most enduring in his sketches are his French personages—vigorous, calm, and cheerful. Some one has

said that his habitants "are more true than in nature. They are types." His caricatures are marvels of their kind, expressing the character and worth of his subjects. They are never malicious, yet, by a twist of his peculiar genius, he makes them irresistible. His fecund, whimsical imagination, helped by the most extravagant fancies, enables him to make sketches of the leading personages of the Federal Parliament that are supremely comical. He touched almost every phase of Canadian life. Out of his varied works [30] looms a good-natured philosophy of life, a bantering kindliness, and a frolicsome cheerfulness that are refreshing.

We have mentioned but a few of the artists. The late J. C. Franchère, a most conscientious painter, has left a great variety of fine pictures. We must also mention the late Ulric Lamarche and M. Suzor-Côté who are noteworthy. Of course there are those who have done a few fair paintings; art lovers who, without adequate training, have resorted to painting as a recreation and those—as in all countries—who confound artifice with art; but there is a large body of French Canadians who care for art of great worth and a few have realised it. There is also among them an artistic differentiation which has opened new paths. Laliberté is an able medallist. E. F. B. Johnston, the writer of art history in *Canada and Its Provinces,* says that Clarence Gagnon "is not only a painter, but a very fine etcher. Many of his etchings will compare favourably with the work of some of the great etchers." [31] Suzon Côté has also done good work in that field. They have good aquarellists. E. Cormier, a Montreal architect, and Professor Jean B. Lagacé of the Montreal University, excel in this respect. The cover of *Le Terroir* is exquisite. In 1920 *La Revue Nationale* published photogravures of several statues by Laliberté, of paintings by Gill, by J. C. Franchère, by George Delfosse, and by Joseph St. Charles, all

[30] Henri Julien, *Album.*

[31] Vol. XII, p. 618.

testifying to the fact that Quebec art has many representatives of genuine talent, embracing more and more in its grasp the whole of the national life.

In music there is much to the credit of the French. They were not at the outset, like Anglo-Canadians, confined in their singing to psalms and hymns.[32] Aside from their church service their popular songs, "less important for their matter than for their manner," developed their æsthetic sensibility and created a wider range of musical possibilities. "Serious music," says J. E. Middleton, contributor to *Canada and Its Provinces,* "when engrafted upon so responsive a temperament succeeds." [33] There is much music teaching of a high quality in the larger convents, and music teachers, some of them of great accomplishments, are numerous and so are various musical organisations. There is in the country a general fondness for this noble art. One of the early promotors of musical culture in Quebec city was the Hanoverian, Frederick Glackemeyer, a true artist who organised the *Société harmonique.* In those days, when pianos were a rare luxury, and musical literature scarcely existed, he left in the city a fine collection of the works of the great masters. From 1850 to 1870 there was also the influence of a Parisian organist, Antoine Dessane, whom N. Levasseur considers "the father of musical classical teaching in Canada." [34] Quebec had also the Haydn Septette which excited much enthusiasm in the city when it played choice masterpieces. The great concerts of amateurs are now rarer, those of professionals more frequent, and musical interest is on the increase.

Anglo-Canadians have had greater advantages by their importation of English organists who were Englishmen bred in the midst of potent church musical environments,

[32] J. E. Middleton, *Canada and Its Provinces,* Vol. XII, p. 644.
[33] *Ibid.,* p. 648.
[34] *Mouvement musical à Québec et aux alentours,* Inédit.

trained in the best schools of Europe and in Canada, enjoying fair resources. The French have hitherto been deprived of most of these advantages. They are more artistic and more responsive by temperament. By their idealism and constancy in breasting difficulties they have reached a certain musical distinction. Saint-Saëns stated that Guillaume Couture was one of the best exponents of musical culture, and J. E. Middleton asserted that Caliste Lavallée was a composer "of commanding importance." French Canada can point with legitimate pride to Mme. Albani, who earned an eminent position in the musical world. Several sons and daughters of the land have won important laurels in some of the best known lyrical theatres of Europe. Others have made for themselves a name for instrumental music. We must remember that if English-speaking artists often excel in the art of publicity, the fundamental education of French Canadians ethically works the other way.

Art culture in the highest sense of the term is one. Architecture, poetry, sculpture, painting, and music have a common basis to train men to see and to love the beautiful, to interpret it, and one common purpose—the elevation and humanisation of man. This the Quebec Government has realised. It founded two schools of art, one in Quebec and one in Montreal. Already nearly 1,000 students [35] attend them. Laval has lately founded a school of music and in Quebec there is the *Académie de musique* which awards prizes, paid by the government, to send students abroad. These fellowships are given, after public competitions, to successful students coming from any part of the province. Montreal University has already its own affiliated school of music. Montreal is bound to become a larger musical centre than Quebec, and the students of the university cannot but be affected, and benefitted if they wish, by the McGill Conservatorium of Music. In the city

[35] *Le Terroir*, November, 1922.

is published *Le Canada musical,* which felicitously reflects the varied interests of the Canadian French in this field.

For French Canadians art is not so much an ornament as an essential need of life, less "art's deathless dreams" as art's immortal truths, an art that has a deep sense of the beautiful, though ofttimes, at its best, not rising higher than the pretty. Much of it is poor enough, but in almost every form it tends to idealise, as well as to beautify, existence; to exalt and intensify the power of religion; to deepen the cult of their famous men and of their history; to increase their love of country; to soften the asperities of their social relations; and to cultivate sanely the imagination. While some of them put their best energy into their productions, remembering that generally art is its own reward, they are sustained by their æsthetic and religious instincts. They believe in a certain mystical apostleship of art, that their religious ethics are their greatest inheritance, that every form of the beautiful tends to magnify this faith. It is an art that is serious and clean, bound to become more potent.

CHAPTER XXIII

FRENCH CANADIAN PHILANTHROPY

PHILANTHROPY among French Canadians rests almost exclusively upon a religious basis. Charity, in its most practical sense, lies at the very root of their religious conceptions, viewing the world as a potential fraternity which must be made a real brotherhood by the church. This spirit is reflected in the words of Abbé Casgrain's father to his offsprings: "My children, you must respect the poor and help them; they are the brothers of Jesus Christ." [1] It is this thought more than any other which has generated a colossal impulse of service to the poor and the afflicted, first, in their parishes and, second, in the whole land. Taken all and all, there is but little misery in the rural districts. The people share what they have with their needy neighbours, and the parish priest is foremost in this good work. His *Quête de l'Enfant Jésus* brings considerable help to the destitute. The singing of *la guignolée* by bands of young men on Christmas eve, making appeals from door to door on behalf of charity, bring more or less to indigents. We must remember the *charivaris,* relatively rare, on the occasion of marriages between people of a great disparity of ages, tormented night after night by noisy youths, but liberated when they give an important sum for those in want. The tendency, however, is to let the clergyman look after the helpless in his parish.

[1] Casgrain, Vol. II, p. 242.

Most of the French charities of the province are controlled by church authority. An individual who feels impelled to do benevolent work must secure its approval. If he does he will have the support of that potent body; if not, he might as well not attempt to row against a resistless stream. Accordingly there are but few organisations absolutely independent. One of them, *Association athlétique,* is an institute of physical culture, founded by A. L. Caron, one of the Caron Brothers of Montreal. The personnel and patrons are Catholics, but the association is autonomous. The purpose is to offer a pleasant and helpful social atmosphere, some elements of intellectual culture, as well as a thoroughly well-equipped gymnasium. The establishment is up to date and most modern. Its purpose is, in a large measure, educative.

French Canadians recognise the ethical importance of developing habits of economy among the people. They have many organisations for savings and mutual help. They sustain institutions like the *Caisse d'économie de Notre-Dame* of Quebec which was founded in 1849. Its growth, without being extraordinary, has been steady. During the first year it received only $1,540.17, but in 1917 its deposits had reached the handsome figures of $16,545,867.72.[2] As we have seen, the Eglise St. Jacques of Montreal has an important savings department. There is also the People's Co-operative Bank which lends to shareholders, enabling them to build homes or attend to pressing financial obligations.[3] In almost every parish one or more branches of large banks receive savings, nay, solicit them, and thereby are of service to the poor and also to the well-to-do. Thus the people come in contact with banking institutions, and even the humblest are taught economic possibilities they never dreamed of and are helped to realise them.

[2] *Statistical Year-Book,* 1917, p. 513.
[3] *Ibid.,* p. 525.

A great force of benevolence is the *Société St. Jean-Baptiste* ever on the national horizon in Canada, and such is its character that it enjoys popular confidence. The people are conscious of the services which it has rendered. Their candid loyalty to it has often occasioned no little merriment outside of their ranks, and *Jean-Baptiste* has become an ironic name upon the lips of their rivals, but is not that name as honourable as that of William of Orange? To be a Jean-Baptiste is no worse than to be a Red Man, a Knight of the Maccabees, a Knight of Pythias, or a Royal Black Knight of Ireland. The chief purpose of this old French brotherhood has been to create fellow-feeling, foster mutual help, produce united action for their general well-being, and national cohesion. It is a benefit society. It publishes several periodicals. It has public classes and lectures, comparatively small prizes to encourage their literature, a committee of study of French Canadian groups all over the continent, a colonisation society, and various activities to cultivate the love of their history.

We do not speak of its financial organisations, nor of its presidents who have been men of mark. As a whole it recruits its members from the middle class, and is only lightly sustained by the intellectuals and the rich who, however, have furnished able officers. These, tacitly approved by the clergy, are elected by the members. The rank and file of this body is made up of people of moderate means and, at times, more moderate education. Its ideal, which is that of all French Canadian organisations, clings to the preservation of their language, of their social institutions, of their nationality and their religion. They founded the *Caisse nationale d'économie*, which has an accumulated capital of $2,867,812; the *Société de fiducie*, an institution to handle legacies and advise those who need reliable legal help. The unveiling of the monument Dollard, in Montreal, June 24, 1920, was done largely by men connected with this

society. Having a will to survive, they impress their history and their survival upon the mind of all. Their activity is very great.

The *Union St. Pierre* combines the benevolence of the preceding organisation with the traits of an insurance society. It pays benefits to its members in case of illness, of accidents, and of invalidism. It attends to funeral expenses, pays a pension at seventy which, with the longevity of French Canadians, is no small matter. It issues paid-up certificates of membership, after one has been in the *Union* for five, ten, fifteen, or twenty years. It admits both sexes, gives allowances to women in illnesses, including those of childbirth. It has one hundred and twenty-five groups in the province. All its officers are absolutely non-salaried. The *St. Joseph Union* has also the characteristics of a benefit society, and, like the preceding organisations, is fundamentally religious.

The Society of French Canadian Artisans, nearly a century old, is not so very unlike those just mentioned. It has 410 auxiliaries in Canada, 160 in the States, with a total membership of nearly 45,000. The *National Alliance,* in addition to the benefits conferred by the societies referred to, works for the moral and intellectual development of its members, 28,000 in 1919. Up to a comparatively short time ago all these organisations ignored political frontiers, and presented a remarkable unity which is now broken. Many of their members, born in the United States, do not feel quite at one with those living north of the forty-fifth parallel. They organised societies of their own, a movement which has been far from disapproved by the American episcopate; at least, by some of its representatives. They have now two organisations: the Canado-American Association with a membership of about 16,000, and the St. Jean-Baptiste Society of America with 33,630 members. These organisations, apart from their direct specific aim, keep their

members together and exert upon them a beneficent moral influence.

Social peace is a great boon for any people. The Quebec Catholic National Labour Union has done much for the well-being of wage-earners as well as for the industrial tranquillity of the province. A convention of this body was held at Three Rivers, in 1919. Some one hundred and twenty delegates, representing the 30,000 members of this Union, attended. Their dominant purpose is the betterment of the people, by introducing the teachings of Jesus in the relations between employers and employees, thereby avoiding strikes, eliminating violence, and the losses which they entail. The delegates discussed the great problems of labour with a strong religious earnestness, but all the while remembering the interest of the employers and of the employees who belong, and even of those who do not belong, to their union. When the question of the length of a day's work came up, they pointed out the various physical exactions of some forms of labour, and condemned the eight-hour fetish. They demanded freedom of arbitration for labourers, but made it compulsory for firemen and policemen. They insisted upon the protection of woman and child labour, that of Protestant Labourers, etc. They showed a broad and intelligent spirit. While standing courageously and sanely for the rights of labour, they asserted their respect for religion, the family, and property. They condemned the clash of classes. Little talk among them of the Gospel of the dinner-pail or of communistic and syndicalistic ideas.

The Catholic Association of French Canadian Youth was founded in 1904 and has spread all over the Dominion. In many ways it is an imitation of the Young Men's Christian Association, without its local individualism and machinery. Its aim is to do something for the culture of the young people, to excite their interest in two special directions:

the Catholic schools of Canada and the French language. It will be led to face any issue raised by the English population. It is also a part of a most vital religious movement for the highest possible efficiency of the lay elements. It has a large membership united in a very fervent organisation. Its leaders are well-known citizens. In 1916 a Laval professor was at its head. It has had several congresses where one is impressed by their great desire to be "lay apostles," and in their literature the frequent use of the word "fight" reveals a militant spirit among them. Their minds are especially open along the line of practical religious interests.

Very active, also, is the Society of St. Vincent de Paul with ramifications in many parts of the Dominion. Its members devote themselves to the poor, though this is a lay, and not a monastic, agency. Charity is considered by them as a means of sanctification and of bringing its participants more completely under full church influence.[4] They are a mystical band whose motto might be *Christo in pauperibus,* and their spirit is reflected in the words of Jesus, "Inasmuch as ye have done it to the least of these my brethren, ye did it unto me." As one work calls another, they were instrumental in bringing to the city of Quebec the Sisters of the Good Shepherd, the *Caisse d'économie de Notre-Dame,* the Night Shelter, the Work for Catholic Seamen, etc.[5] The members of this society organised a guild for fatherless boys or for those who lack home protection, which places them in a good atmosphere. It is now superintended by the Brothers of St. Vincent de Paul. In 1911 it looked after the schooling of 400 pupils in Quebec, gave virtual protection to 200 of them when they left the schools, provided a home for 50 apprentices, and gave each year a temporary shelter to over 1,000 homeless boys.[6] On the last day of the year the members of the society make a special visit to poor families, to the children's wards in

[4] Magnan, p. 324. [5] Magnan, p. 341. [6] *Ibid.,* p. 328.

hospitals, and to the epileptics of those institutions. Some of the members go to play cards with old people. M. Magnan speaks of two or three hundred of these young Christians as "a regiment in the army of charity." [7] These remarks apply mostly to the city of Quebec but other cities have also this same work.

In the sphere of social benevolence for the young, one must note the devoted service of the Orders. Many of their schools are part of their good service. The orphans committed to their care had to be educated. This service is the most general, and, in some ways, the most successful of their works. The Brothers of St. Gabriel and the Brothers of Our Lady of the Fields rescue boys, and train them for farm or for industrial service. The former have 400 of these orphans. The Brothers of St. Regis perform a similar task. The Charity Sisters of Providence and the Grey Nuns of all kinds, in addition to their other works, have orphanages. Among the practical variations of their noble efforts is a special education for the children of labourers, preparing them for the economic and social condition which surrounds them. The poor children in industrial centres are the special objects of their solicitude.

New industrial and commercial conditions have brought to the cities a new class, the office-girls, stenographers, and shop-girls. The new-comers are well looked after. There are homes to receive them. When their intellectual training is insufficient they know that they may call upon the sisters who will sympathetically study their case, and will send them to competent teachers to obtain the instruction which they need. The Sisters of the Good Shepherd have devised several forms of service to protect girls, to reclaim them when fallen. They look after the inebriates and the drug addicts. Their devoted and tactful action is invaluable in the women's prisons of which they have charge. At the lib-

[7] Magnan, p. 365.

eration of the culprits they do all they can to keep them in the path of honest living. The department of the Holy Heart of Mary receives young delinquents who have appeared before the Juvenile Court. In their monastery there remain over 200 penitents who choose to continue to live in the institution after their deliverance from their former lives. The Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary do a similar work in Quebec.

The two Sisterhoods that we have just referred to have also reform schools for girls. The Brothers of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul, in Montreal, manage one for boys. Their service is telling upon these young culprits with a redeeming influence. They try to instill into the hearts and lives of half a thousand boys the principles and faith which will restore them to normal life. The number of such delinquents which, in Quebec, was 510 in 1880 was only 579 in 1915, a large decrease, if we bear in mind the growth of the population. The determined efforts of the churches, the schools, and other agencies have doubtless contributed to these results. The industrial schools for the fatherless and the motherless, where the children are taught a trade, have helped in the same way.

On June 15, 1821, a school for the deaf and dumb was opened in Quebec. This was the first institution of the kind in this hemisphere.[8] In 1832 the Assembly passed a law to further this education.[9] To-day, the Clerics of St. Viator have an Institute for the Deaf and Dumb in Montreal where 35 friars attend to the difficult training of the 160 unfortunates there. Similarly the Charity Sisters of Providence train deaf and dumb girls. In 1914 the St. Vincent de Paul Society of Quebec supported 28 girls and 27 boys in these institutions of the metropolis.[10] General-Inspector Magnan, to whom we are indebted for these data,

[8] Perrault, Vol. IV, p. 68.
[9] Meilleur, p. 153.
[10] Magnan, p. 350.

tells us of the wonderful treatment of Ludovine Lachance, a young girl sixteen years old, blind, deaf, and dumb, who was taught, humanised, raised above mere animal sense life, by these devoted Sisters.[11] He does not tell us of the similar cases in the United States of Laura Bridgman and Helen Keller, followed with much interest by the most eminent psychologists of the English speech. The most amazing thing is that the blind, deaf, and dumb Helen Keller takes a bright view of life and even wrote an essay on "Optimism."

The Grey Nuns have the Nazareth Asylum for the Blind. It was founded in 1861 upon the model and after methods of the Institution for the Blind in Paris. The Sisters also visit and work with outside patients not able to come to them. Moreover, they have an *Institut Ophthalmique* and workshops for helpless blind girls. Their music school, affiliated with the Faculty of Arts of Montreal University,[12] has an immediate practical purpose. It aims to train the blind who have musical aptitudes as music-teachers, organists, pianists, religious or secular singers, and even piano-tuners. This work the Grey Nuns sustain with all their resources and what is even greater, with their devotion.

Does the reader wish to see what 288 Charity Sisters of Providence do? Let him visit the Mont St. Jean-de-Dieu Asylum for the insane. There he will find a huge establishment, so extensive that a little electric car does service in transporting those who need it from one point to another. Let him visit the laundry, the bakery, the kitchen, the dining-rooms, and above all the rooms where supplies are stored, inspect every other provision for the comfort and health of the inmates, and it will be seen that it would be hardly possible to do more, and in a more modern way, for these unfortunates whose upkeep is taken care of by the

[11] Magnan, p. 349.
[12] *Annuaire de l'Université Laval de Montréal,* 1917-1918, p. 274.

government. All that human intelligence has provided for the well-being of such persons they have, with as fine, as scientific a force of doctors, as can be secured. Most of their alienists have studied in Paris and are in close touch with the best pathologists in the United States.

The impression left upon the visitor is one of profound emotion in presence of the prodigious abnegation of the sisters, about whom there is an atmosphere of uncommon cheerfulness, and a spirit ever ready to answer the call for service. The feature which particularly strikes the Protestant observer is the prevalence of modernity in everything which is within sight. Besides these sisters have near by the Residence Ste. Thérèse for private patients, and the providence St. Isidore for sick insane patients. This is only a small part of the stupendous service of all sorts for over 2,300 members of this large Sisterhood. The Little Franciscan Sisters have also an asylum for these sufferers at the Bay of St. Paul below Quebec, and the Grey Nuns of that city have one at Bernierville and one at Mastaï. In all these institutions 433 sisters take care of 4,425 patients.[13] They receive no salary, hence, while the patients at the Protestant asylum cost $312.55 a year, at St. Jean-de-Dieu the cost is only $144; $120 at the Baie de St. Paul; $110 at Mastaï and at Bernierville.[14] The difference between these prices is that which exists between a systematised spirit of sacrifice and a professional system of economics; both are honourable, but a lofty altruism fosters an attitude most capable of patient service in dealing with the erratic demands of these unfortunates.

One is not only impressed by the variety of this philanthropy, but also by the sameness of efforts in that variety. Consider for a moment the Grey Nuns of Montreal. It is

[13] *Statistique annuelle des établissements pénitentiaires et des institutions d'assistance*, 1917, p. 52.
[14] *Ibid.*, p. 79.

impossible to imagine a human service radiating in more directions, more specialisation to meet special needs, and a greater disposition to seek the highest use of things. As an example: three men are employed as shoe-makers for the establishment; one is very lame and the two others are painfully deficient in hearing. So it is in all departments; they are attempting to secure the greatest efficiency of their deficient personal tools—we speak of the inmates. No one is idle. There is a wonderful organisation of service for all the wants of those under their roof. That institution has 62 establishments and 1,122 Sisters and auxiliaries. Several branches have sprung from this parent Montreal society; they have the same name, and almost the same dress—the Grey Nuns of St. Hyacinthe, those of Ottawa, and those of Quebec. A fourth branch has arisen from the Institute of St. Hyacinthe, that of Nicolet. The mother society of Montreal, on account of its wealth, can ever widen its sphere of action.

We have borrowed from *Le Canada ecclésiastique,* in which we found a gold mine of data upon French Canadian manifestations of charity, the following summing-up of the pursuits of these Grey Nuns of Montreal: "The care of the aged and infirm of both sexes, the work for foundlings and abandoned children, the education of orphans, attendance upon the sick in hospitals, the visits to the poor and the sick in their homes, the watching of the sick, a pharmacy and dispensary for the poor, infant schools, industrial schools for Indians, domestic schools for the daughters of the poor, elementary schools and academies in the missions of the Far North, education of the blind of both sexes." [15] The Grey Nuns of St. Hyacinthe have summed up their service in the following terms: "All works of mercy for the soul and for the body towards the poor and needy, the infirm or the sick, ranging from old people to young orphans and

[15] *Canada ecclésiastique,* 1920, p. 356.

abandoned children." [16] They have 19 houses and 496 sisters. Those of Ottawa devote themselves "to the education and instruction of youth, to works of charity, the sick, the poor, the aged, the infirm and orphans." [17] They have nearly 1,800 sisters. A similar statement might be made of the consecration and earnestness of those of Quebec with 1,061 sisters, not to mention 112 novices.[18] In Nicolet the community has 10 houses and 163 sisters. In mentioning the self-surrender and devotion of these 4,000 women one's vocabulary of admiration is soon exhausted. So far we have made objective and almost abstract statements of service, the importance of which can never be realised until it is seen in its actuality.

The peculiar ascetic and religious rules of these monastic institutions are not within the scope of this book, which is here concerned only with a noble and almost heroic humanitarian service. The Charity Sisters of Providence, of whom we have spoken in connection with the work for the insane, are also a noble phalanx, instinct with devotion. The summary of their work is phrased as follows: "Spiritual and temporal relief of the poor and the sick, homes for orphans and the aged, visits to the poor and the sick in their homes, dispensaries for the poor, instruction for the young, etc." [19] To test these formulæ, let us turn from the statement to realities and visit their Hospital for the Incurables, in Montreal. There one is surrounded by every form of human ailment, and all the harrowing horrors of a hopeless condition, amidst which the sisters do not only what science demands for these unfortunates but give them a service that will be requited only where supreme mercy and justice reign. They put hope, sunshine, and cheer in a place where one expected to be face to face with hopelessness, gloom, and despair. The Sisters at the Hôtel-Dieu of the Sacred

[16] *Canada ecclésiastique*, 1920, p. 361.
[17] *Ibid.*, p. 372.
[18] *Ibid.*, p. 379.
[19] *Ibid.*, p. 362.

Heart of Jesus, in Quebec, confer the same blessings upon foundlings, cancerous, epileptic, and infirm persons and sufferers from the most repulsive diseases. The Quebec Grey Nuns have a hospital for contagious diseases.[20] These good women never turn away when they are face to face with danger.

The first hospital of Canada was founded in 1637, at Quebec, by the Duchess d'Aiguillon, and bears the name of *L'Hôtel-Dieu du précieux sang*. The Sisters belong to the Order of the Augustinians. It was subjected to all the dangers and vicissitudes of the colony, suffered from Indian aggressions, from destructive fires, and from the wars which ended at the Cession. The nuns in their work made no difference between the conquerors and the vanquished. "The nuns of Quebec," says A. G. Bradley, "then earned the gratitude of the victors by the impartial manner in which they gave their services to friend and foe with like devotion." [21] Cloistered, when they take their vows, they belong absolutely to their work which they are to leave only to be placed among those in the rear of the building, near those humble wooden crosses which mark, and mark only temporarily, their last resting-place.

The monastery and the hospital, though so united, have separate finances. When the hospital runs short in its resources the sisters provide. Besides the use of their buildings and equipment, in 1910, the community put 75 nuns at the service of the hospital without any compensation.[22] Like the nurses of the best hospitals of the world they are subjected to a systematic training of several years, and, what are important assets for these havens for sufferers, the trained nuns remain, and acquire an invaluable experience, while in secular institutions, after securing their degree, most of the nurses leave for a general, compensated

[20] *Canada ecclésiastique*, 1920, p. 380.
[21] *Canada in the Twentieth Century*, p. 53.
[22] *Annuaire de l'Hôtel-Dieu-du-precieux-sang*, 1910, p. 7.

service. Some of them have wider knowledge, and perhaps more science, but between the two kinds of nurses the equation of service is different.

In this hospital, as in so many others, one is struck by the thoroughly sanitary conditions and by the scientific equipment. The administration of the Sisters grants almost every request of the medical force for any new instrument or for advantageous changes. Their reports are business-like, matter-of-fact, and specific. All that concerns the patients is absolute in the domain of the doctors who, most of them, after their courses at Laval University, have had the advantages of European schools. Specialists are maintained in various fields. The hospital has close relations with the university, whose students have their clinic there, and many nurses their training. The number of patients admitted in 1918 was 3,132, while 4,262 were treated in the dispensaries. In 1912 the mother house in Dieppe, France, lacking recruits, twenty sisters offered to go over to help but only four were asked. The intelligent devotion to their work was greatly appreciated.[23]

Similarly impressive is the history of the Hôtel-Dieu of Montreal. It was founded by Jeanne Mance, in 1642, although the Hospital Sisters of St. Joseph, who are now serving it, arrived only in 1659, two hundred and sixty-five years ago. What the institution was at the outset appeared so small and humble that no one could dream of its great future. At the time of the Conquest British soldiers were so well treated there also that the victorious general was touched thereby, and sent to these devoted Christians the following: "Amherst, grateful to the sisters for their care of the wounded English soldiers, sends them a couple hundred half-crowns, and two dozen Madeira." [24] After

[23] *Annuaire,* 1912, p. 8.

[24] *Vie de Mlle. Mance et histoire de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Villemarie,* Vol. II, p. 263.

unparalleled hardships, a consecration that defies words, and a wise management, it has reached its present development. Its edifice is one of the most impressive of French Canada. It has two hundred and seventy-five beds and is one of the largest hospitals in America. Apart from its own work it has founded a dozen houses with a similar spirit and purpose, but which have become perfectly independent of the mother house. In 1868 its sisters accepted the charge of nursing the Tracadie lepers, in New Brunswick.[25]

Though so religiously conservative the institution has most modern ideas in its service. Like the senior hospitals in Quebec it has two departments, the monastery proper and the hospital. Both are vitally related. These Sisters are also cloistered. What strikes the visitor most is the cleanliness of all parts of the building. War on microbes seems general. The laboratories, the beautiful pharmacy, the operating-room as well as that for post-mortem examination, the dispensaries, the wards filled with patients and their nursing Sisters, disarm at once the prejudices of a non-Catholic. What was said of the training of the Augustinians in Quebec is true also of the Hospital Sisters of the Hôtel-Dieu.

A very striking feature of this institution is its adaptation to contemporary wants and its modern comfort. There are free wards for the poor, but also private rooms and apartments of various kinds, from those for persons who can pay something to those for patients of abundant means. One is forced to see the spirit of improvement, of progress, which has wrought here such transformations. The Royal Victoria, with its princely gifts from Lord Mount-Stephen and Lord Strathcona, could do wonders, but this evolution of a seventeenth-century hospital to a thoroughly modern one, with its contemporary spirit and modern methods, is

[25] E.-L. Couanier de Launay, *Histoire des religieuses hospitalières,* Vol. II, p. 377.

in some ways more wonderful. This does not detract from the more recent institutions like the Notre Dame Hospital founded in 1880, in a large measure through the generosity of the Sulpicians, the men who, in 1895, started and sustained the St. Antoine Hospice for the Aged, served by the Grey Nuns. They assumed half the financial responsibility of this new enterprise and the co-operation of the Grey Nuns was secured. Thirty-two of them are attached to this well-managed house. Public generosity has contributed to its support. In an old building, it faces all kinds of diseases with most advanced scientific methods. In 1922 the Ste. Anne Sisters, though pre-eminently a teaching body, had 4,000 patients in their hospitals.[26]

There are in the province over fifty hospitals, maternities, and *crèches,* more than three-quarters of which are operated and served by these religious bodies. Of the 109 homes, orphanages, asylums, and kindred institutions of the province, eighty are the work of monastics.[27] The same thing might be said of the sanitaria and the anti-tuberculosis works. In all these activities there is a high average intelligence, an intense religious earnestness, and genuine charity that make their efforts thrice blessed. Among the many works of benevolence is the share of French Canadian women in collecting the Canadian Patriotic Fund, not to speak of their other organisations of the same kind. The Canadian Red Cross gave to the French Minister of War $100,000 to establish a hospital for French wounded. Then came the hospital of Colonel Mignault in St. Cloud and the hospital associated with Laval University of Montreal to which we have already referred.

A Protestant may not, nay, can not, approve of some of the concomitants of monasticism, such as vows for life, excessive demands made upon women whose physical energy

[26] *La Revue canadienne,* 1922, p. 417.
[27] *Statistical Year-Book of Quebec,* 1917, p. 304.

should be spared and repaired, whose release from service should be offered to them, though they would not accept it. Their work, in its variety and intensity, is monumental. Romain Rolland says that "An intellectual finds it hard to be satisfied with a simple charity: it waters but such a small province of the land of misery." [28] In French Canada charity "waters" in a remarkable manner not so much "the land of misery" as the wider field of human suffering. From their own point of view, for monastics, charity is the backbone of religion and the holiest fruit of piety. One may regret among them a lack of enthusiasm for knowledge and the higher culture, but one cannot fail to praise in them the note of sacrifice, of unremitting devotion to service, and a genuine Christian heroism. The secular clergy is animated with a similar spirit, shown in many individual works of relief of ills about them. Both clergies are helped by the sympathetic admiration and support of their people, for whom charity, "love" as St. Paul calls it, has always been the best evidence of the divineness of their faith.

[28] *Jean-Christophe, Le Buisson Ardent*, p. 16.

CHAPTER XXIV

BRITISH JUSTICE TO FRENCH CANADIANS

THE people of French Canada have advanced more rapidly and moved farther than they themselves realise. Much has been written about their *survivances* and *traditions,*[1] but these are so permeated with a new spirit that not one of them is held by French Canadians now, as in early colonial times. The historical investigator is forced, by evidence, to insist upon their transformation, their growing modernity, and their evolution. Their forefathers would be horrified to hear their descendants speak, many of them using the tongue of the conquerors, of constitutional rights, of democratic principles so opposed to the teachings of Bossuet, in *La Politique tirée de l'Ecriture sainte.* They would shudder at the assertion that everything does not belong to the King and that he cannot dispose of all according to his pleasure. There has also been a radical change in their feelings. Though British subjects, and fervent royalists, they no longer hold that a "divinity doth hedge a King," and have ceased to feel the royal "awe and majesty," "the dread and fear of Kings."

The way travelled by the Canadian French, from the absolute autocracy of Louis XIV to to-day, amounts to a revolution, certainly a complete transformation. Mentally, they have become unyielding democrats, jealous of their

[1] Jean Lionnet, *Chez les Français du Canada;* Prince de Beauveau-Craon, *La Survivance française au Canada;* Edouard Montpetit, *Au Service de la tradition française; Les Survivances françaises au Canada.*

political rights; they have protested at all times within the last three-quarters of a century when these rights were even slightly disregarded. This was particularly the case at the time of the Union of the Canadas and at the establishment of the Confederation, when they were not consulted. It was this democratic spirit, insisting upon autonomy, that turned so many to rally under the banner of M. Bourassa, and, also, the desire not to be drawn into an all-absorbing and dangerous British imperialism. In this they were at one with the majority of Britons. It is in such an attitude that one sees the thorough metamorphosis which has taken place in their political life, and given them what a biologist would call newly acquired characters.

The great world life has penetrated into the country in spite of their reputed feudalism, which no longer exists except in mere nominalistic form, now filled with a new life. The opening of the St. Lawrence, by England, about the middle of the last century, is only a symbol of the opening of the native mind to the larger world of impulses and ideas resistlessly entering under restraints, yet entering. Even the most conservative Catholics are obliged to be of their time in defending their conceptions of mental, moral, religious, and cosmic fixity. The clergy tacitly make concessions to democracy and will make more. The masses, obedient and submissive, are no longer the passive multitudes of former days, and the clergy act accordingly. Illiteracy has receded and practical knowledge has come and lingers. When the scientific spirit does not find admission, through religious channels and the schools, it enters by commercial, philanthropic, and materialistic avenues. Civilisation comes to them more and more outside of the church and the schools. Modern life is becoming an incomparable teacher for them, and more and more they are absorbing the ideas of the century. Of this the great bulk of Anglo-Canadians are not aware.

There are still great issues between the two peoples. The religious one is of the utmost importance but, on both sides, with the exception of small minorities, the mutual opposition has been toned down. The most thoughtful Catholics realise that Protestanism has kept them united, has sided with them on moral issues, and that its intellectual and practical traits have not been without repercussion upon their own works. Protestants of the largest type are conscious of the inspirations derived from the heroic spirit of the French Canadian clergy. The schools of Quebec, once hostile to each other, have a growing sense of solidarity. English Protestant Quebeckers defended French Canadian schools when wronged by Ontario. The monolinguistic aims of the two peoples continue, but the number of bilingual Canadians is increasing as well as those conversant with two literatures. Those attempting to bring about the unification of laws and life are more inclined than formerly to resort to constitutional methods. The commercial rivalry of bygone days has lost something of its one-sidedness. One is impressed in Montreal and in Quebec by the numerous signs over stores and offices of Anglo-French associates. Great questions have become subordinate to those of parties.

The common, uneducated Anglo-Canadians still have the attitude of conquerors, demanding that the natives should surrender their language, their manners and ideals, but the better trained minds have come to realise the value of ethnographic variety. Many agree with Lord Dufferin when he said, "I do not think that ethnological homogeneity is an unmixed benefit for a country. Certainly the least attractive characteristic of a great portion of this continent is the monotony of many of its outward aspects, and I consider it fortunate for Canada that her prosperity should be founded on the co-operation of different races. The inter-action of national idiosyncracies introduces into our

existence a freshness, a variety, a colour, an eclectic impulse, which otherwise would be wanting; and it would be most faulty statesmanship to seek their obliteration. My warmest aspirations for this province have always been to see its French inhabitants executing for Canada the functions which France herself has so admirably performed for Europe. Strike from European history the achievements of France—subtract from European civilisation the contributions of France—and what a blank would be occasioned!" [2]

Those who have reached fair opinions of this noble people, by examining a large body of evidence on their behalf, have their confidence strengthened by the long array of favourable appreciations of Britons and men of other nationalities from the Cession till to-day. These testimonies came from men who had great opportunities to see, and who were men of a larger calibre than traders and those engaged in Anglo-French controversies. For Murray, "the Canadians, accustomed to an arbitrary government, are a frugal, industrious, and moral race of men who, from the just and mild treatment they met with from His Majesty's military officers that ruled the country for four years past, until the establishment of civil government had greatly got the better of the natural antipathy they had of their conquerors. They consist of the noblesse, who are numerous, and who pride themselves much upon the antiquity of their families, their own military glory, and that of their ancestors. These noblesse are Seigniors of the whole country, and though not rich, are in a situation in that plentiful part of the world, where money is scarce and luxury still unknown, to support their dignity. The inhabitants, their tenants, who pay only an annual quitrent of about a dollar for one hundred acres, are at their ease and comfortable. They have been accustomed to respect and obey their noblesse; their tenure being military, in the feudal manner, they have shared with

[2] George Stewart, Jr., p. 614.

them the dangers of the field, and natural affection has been increased in proportion to the calamities which have been common to both from the conquest of the country. As they have been taught to respect their Seigniors, and are not yet intoxicated with the abuse of liberty, they are shocked at the insults which their noblesse and the King's officers have received from English traders and lawyers since the civil government took place." [3]

Taken all and all, Murray, in the days of his governorship, fully recognised their worth. "They are a strong, healthy race, plain in their dress, virtuous in their morals and temperate in living." "I can with the greatest truth assert," he continues, "that the troops have lived with the inhabitants in a harmony unexampled even at home." [4] A few writers have tried to impress upon us a fictitious partiality of Murray, on account of his fondness for the French noblesse, but documents show that he had great regard for the people at large. The Swiss Crémahé, a trusted subordinate of Murray, a lieutenant-governor under Carleton, has often a good word for the natives, "The Canadians are tractable and submissive." [5] General Carleton, speaking of the British settlers, bemoans the fact that they are restless, and expresses a deep regret. If only "they were as orderly as I found the Canadians." [6] For Sir Frederick Haldimand, the successor of Carleton, "The inhabitants are remarkably civil and obliging, and I hardly think that under similar circumstances our peasants would behave as well." [7]

Crémahé and Haldimand were Swiss, but we have the testimony of a German officer who came over with the Brunswick and Hessian soldiers, and writes as follows: "Really the Canadians are excellent people. Their ancestors are French,

[3] *Canadian Archives, B* series, Vol. VIII. *General Murray to Lord Shelburn,* August 20th, 1766.
[4] *D. C. H. C.*, p. 60.
[5] *D. C. H. C.*, p. 344.
[6] Cavendish, p. 143.
[7] McIlwraith, p. 116.

but they call themselves Canadians . . . They are austere rather than volatile or lively, and have lost much of the vivacity of their ancestors. They are the reverse of *prévenant* and *engageant* and it is difficult to gain their confidence; but when you have gained it they are with you heart and soul. By nature they have the true *droiture du cœur* and are inclined to fair dealing." [8] The resultant of the opinions of these military leaders is that French Canadians were then what with great changes they have remained, a brave and sane people. In 1800 Isaac Weld says that "some of the lower classes of French Canadians have all the gayety and vivacity of the people of France; they dance, they sing, and seem determined not to give way to care . . . vanity, however, is the ascendant feature in the character of all of them, and by working upon that you make them do what you please." [9] Later on he adds, "The people are beginning now, however, to be more industrious and better farmers, owing to the increased demand for grain for exportation." [10] Here we have the opinion of an Englishmen viewing things from a commercial point of view, and silent about the qualities of the better class of natives. Hugh Gray, nine years later, declares that their conservatism "is the characteristic of the peasantry of all countries."

George Heriot, having held important positions, one of which was that of postmaster-general, and seen much of the French, writes as follows, "The *habitants,* or land holders, are honest, hospitable, religious, inoffensive, uninformed, possessing much simplicity, modesty, and civility. Indolent, attached to ancient prejudices, and limiting their exertion to an acquisition of the necessaries of life, they neglect the conveniences. Their propensities to a state of inaction

[8] Stone and Hund, p. 29.
[9] *Travels through the States of North America and the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada,* Vol. I, p. 330. [10] *Ibid.,* Vol. II, p. 8.

retains many of them in poverty; but as their wants are circumscribed they are happy. Contentment of mind and mildness of disposition seem to be the leading features in their character. Their address to strangers is more polite and unembarrassed than that of any other peasantry in the world. Rusticity, either in manners or in language, is unknown even to those who reside in situations most remote from the towns. They have little inclination for novelty or improvement and exhibit no great portion of genius, which may perhaps be in some degree attributed to the want of education, of example to pursue, and of opportunities to excite emulation, or to unfold the latent qualities of their mind." [11]

An English writer in the *Almanach de Québec, 1812,* is even more sympathetic: "There is no happier people in the world. Their labour affords them the necessaries of life: no part of it is taken from them, but what they consider as being for their own use. Amongst them ambition and vanity rarely create unreal wants, nor does envy sour real enjoyments. In the ordinary state of human happiness they are cheerful and lively. To evils beyond their control they submit with resignation. They are strongly attached to their religion, their country, laws, customs, and manners; and utterly averse to all innovations. They partake of the French character, something in the same way as the New Englanders partake of that of Englishmen. Both have been modified by circumstances, and now differ from their origin. Where there is plenty of land to cultivate, the man who lives by labour, depends only on the Almighty and himself . . . The Canadian peasant acknowledges superiors, to whom he is respectful, but he expects a corresponding attention; an omission in this respect is not easily forgiven. To his equals he is polite and obliging; inferiors, he knows of none; what he possesses, he owes to his labour, and every well-

[11] *Travels through the Canadas,* p. 113.

behaved person enjoys the same means. If one of them serves the other, he is as one of the family. The Canadian farmer is social, to a vice; much of his time is sacrificed to this quality." [12]

Colonel Francis Hall, in 1816, is delighted when he reaches Montreal. "We found," he says, "the inns neat, and the people attentive; French politeness began to be contrasted with American bluntness." [13] He speaks like a man of broad, independent judgment: "Schools are common through the province, and the number of colleges seems proportioned to the population: the gentry and tradesmen appear not much inferior in information to the country gentlemen of other nations; and if the share of the peasant's intellect exceeds not much that of the ox he drives, he may claim fellowship, in this respect, with the peasant of almost every country on the globe, except the United States. He is certainly superstitious; that is, he believes all his priest tells him—no great peculiarity. Let not, however, those qualities be overlooked which give a grace to his poverty, sweeten the cup of his privations and almost convert his ignorance into bliss. Essentially a Frenchman, he is gay, courteous, and contented . . . To strangers and travellers he is invariably civil, seeming to value their good word beyond their money . . . At present great crimes are almost unknown, and petty offenses are rare." [14]

Professor Benjamin Silliman of Yale University found them in 1819 "extremely courteous and kind; those of the gentry are of course polished, but the common people, also, have a winning gentleness and suavity, and a zealous forwardness to serve you, which, particularly in the villages, delighted us much. Even the common *oui Monsieur* is uttered in a manner so different from the blunt coldness of

[12] *Almanach de Québec*, 1812, p. 156.
[13] *Travels in Canada and the United States in 1816 and 1817*, p. 43.
[14] *Ibid.*, p. 93.

our common people, who frequently also forget the *Monsieur,* that we were struck with the difference." [15] It was nearly at this time that Andrew Stuart called them "a race of gentlemen." [16] In 1824 Adam Hodgson "felt some regrets on bidding a final adieu to the Canadians; since, indolent as they are, and averse to improvement, there is a simplicity and civility in their manners which pleased me the more, perhaps, in contrast with the cold demeanour of their neighbours." [17] Professor Silliman had already noted the difference. For William Newham Blane, French Canadians are "a very contented people, with a great deal of leisure and but few cares, and possessing all the lightness of spirit which characterised the nation from which they are descended." [18]

In 1824 E. A. Talbot, whose two volumes upon the Canadas show a signal penetration of the people and of the country, finds among French Canadians "*cleanliness, neatness,* if not *refinement,* in the simple decorations of their interiors . . . seldom witness the semblance of poverty or the shadow of discontent . . . In the city, the town, the village, and the open country, every eye sparkles with contentment, and every tongue speaks the language of independence." [19] "I have found among the uneducated inhabitants of Lower Canada more real happiness, more true politeness, greater reverence for religion, and a stronger national attachment to each other than I have found among the inhabitants of any other country in which I have sojourned." [20]

In 1830 Captain Basil Hall adds but little to what other

[15] *Remarks Made on a Short Tour Between Hartford and Quebec,* p. 367.
[16] Chauveau, *L'Instruction publique au Canada,* p. 346; De Celles, *Louis Joseph Papineau,* p. 49.
[17] *Letters from North America,* Vol. I, p. 388.
[18] An English Gentleman, *An Excursion through the United States and Canada During the Years 1822-1823,* p. 443.
[19] *Five Years' Residence in the Canadas,* Vol. I, p. 93.
[20] *Ibid.,* Vol. II, p. 308.

British travellers have told us about the Canadians: "No persons could be better bred, more cheerful, or apparently more happy, than they seemed to be in their comfortable little cottages." [21] Adam Ferguson, in 1832, states that "The habitants are industrious, frugal, and contented." [22] Of course not understanding their fixed ideas and their unevolutionary ideal he reproaches them for their excessive reverence for the practices of their fathers. Henry Tudor is charmed with them: "With the character of these simple-minded and amiable French colonists it would be impossible not to be delighted. They remind me powerfully of what the inhabitants of the Swiss cantons were in all their native and winning simplicity . . . Uncorrupted as the French Canadians are by the vices of a highly artificial state of society as that which exists in Europe; blessed with a happy competency that supplies their few and unexaggerated wants, and removed by their comparative seclusion from the seductive and fatal influence of fashion and extravagance, they live in a state of pastoral and patriarchal purity of manners . . . they possess the grace and courtesy of their European progenitors, etc." [23]

We must repeat a most telling passage of Durham, "The temptations which, in other states of society, lead to offenses against property and the passions which prompt to violence were little known among them." [24] His Secretary, Mr. Charles Buller, reporting on the state of education in Lower Canada, says: "Withal this is a people eminently qualified to reap advantages from education; they are shrewd and intelligent, never morose, most amiable in their domestic relations, and most graceful in manners." [25] T. R. Preston, so unjust and severe with these sons of New France, is

[21] *Travels in North America in the years 1827 and 1828,* Vol. I, p. 398.
[22] *Practical Notes Made During a Tour in Canada,* p. 260.
[23] *Narrative of a Tour in North America,* Vol. I, p. 317.
[24] *Report,* p. 17.
[25] Quoted from Bourinot, *The Intellectual Devel. of the C. P.,* p. 44.

forced by facts to say that "they are, in the main, an orderly people, who would not themselves resort to violence, unless under circumstances of extreme provocation." [26]

Sir Richard Bonnycastle is variable in his opinion. Early he had positively stated that they are no improvement upon their progenitors, but in 1841 he seems favourably impressed by those living in Ontario. "The Upper Canadian Frenchman retains . . . his loyalty to England, with his native good humor and *bienséance;* and I know few more estimable people than the farmers and French gentlemen of this part of the world." [27] In a later book he seems completely won over. "If they had cheated me, I should have been content, so much is politeness worth; and the Canadian French peasant is a primitive being, as polite as a baron of the *ancien régime.*" [28] "We should not forget the services he rendered us when our children fought to drive us from our last hold on the North American continent." [29] In 1843 G. J. D. Poulett Scrope, brother of Lord Sydenham, renders great homage to the moral qualities of this population.[30] Two years later Thomas Horton James, after some abuse, says, "Nevertheless, amongst the French habitants of Quebec there is a stronger feeling of love of their country than perhaps among any race of men living, whilst their good humour and constant cheerfulness are better worth to them than all the maxims of philosophy." [31]

In 1848 Robert Christie, whose *History of Lower Canada* is a travesty of what French Canadians did, endeavours to disarm the impartial readers by saying that he does not undervalue the estimable qualities, moral and social, of the Canadian French. "The class is too generally known and

[26] *Three Years' Residence in Canada,* Vol. I, p. 73.
[27] *The Canadas in 1841,* Vol. I, p. 272.
[28] *Canada and the Canadians in 1846,* Vol. II, p. 143.
[29] *Ibid.,* Vol. I, p. 83.
[30] *Memoir of the Rt. Hon. Charles Lord Sydenham,* p. 115.
[31] *Rambles in the United States and Canada During the Year 1845,* p. 99.

its virtues acknowledged, to need commendation or commentary as to character here. Many indeed of them have erred—but who has not?—and may err again. Unable always to judge for themselves in matters of policy and government, they are perhaps too easily led, and sometimes astray, by those in whom they have confided, but the diffusion of education and the light of the press will, by and bye, it is to be hoped, dispel the darkness. . . " "In a religious, moral, and social sense, the French Canadian character is not excelled by that of any people in the world. He who would be perfectly acquainted with *Jean-Baptiste* must visit him at his residence, and abide with him there a while—if in the winter season, when the long *veillées* afford leisure and opportunity for conversation, all the better;—see him in his social and domestic circle, in the several relations of parent, neighbour, and friend, and he will then understand and appreciate the old gentleman." [32] This is the opinion of a Nova Scotian repeatedly elected to the Assembly and repeatedly expelled by the French element.

When in 1885 at a banquet in Hamilton Sir Francis Bond Head stated that the Canadian French were an inferior race, Major Thomas Edmund Campbell of the seventh Hussards, formerly aid-de-camp of Governor Sydenham and subsequently his military secretary, at this time living in his seigniory of St. Hilaire, defended them with a noble earnestness. "For nine years," he said, "I have been dwelling among French Canadians and so I may honestly claim to have learned something of what concerns them in a disinterested manner. Believe me, Jean-Baptiste, as the French Canadian is often called, is an honest and good subject. He is industrious, gracious, and I may say that he is good. He may have his prejudices, but who has none? . . . All that I can say is that I have never lived

[32] Vol. I, p. x.

among a better people. . . . The blessings of education are spreading rapidly in the whole province and the result is noticeable." He defends their priests, and remarks that in many cases the people will be firm and discuss with them in terms "as energetic as their natural politeness will permit." [33] The substance of all these testimonies, the number of which could be greatly multiplied, confirms our interpretation of the character of French Canadians as a people. Since then they have been profoundly influenced by a growing wealth, the development of education, the rise of the spirit of progress—facts which have largely determined their evolution.

Lord Dufferin, with what Sir Wilfrid Laurier calls "his touch of blarney," [34] had a culture, a power of historic perception which enabled him to see the political talents of what he called "the French race." "We must not forget that it is to its elevation of mind, to its love of liberty, and to its exact appreciation of civil rights contained in germs in the constitution first granted to Canada, by England, that we owe the development of that parliamentary autonomy of which the country is so justly proud; and I can assure you that in the eyes of an Englishman few things are more pleasant than to observe the dignity, the moderation, and the political ability with which the French public men of Canada help their English colleagues to apply and cause to operate those great principles of law and constitutional practice which are at the basis of the free government of this country." [35] Later on, returning to the same theme, he says, "Our French fellow-countrymen are, in fact, more parliamentary than the English themselves, and in the various fortunes of the colony there have never been wanting French statesmen of eminence to claim an equal share

[33] P. G. Roy, *Les petites choses de notre histoire*, Vol. II, p. 267.
[34] Skelton, Vol. II, p. 86.
[35] G. Stewart, Jr., p. 301.

with their British colleagues in shaping the history of the Dominion." [36]

Addressing gatherings of French Canadians he congratulated them upon their mental and ethical dispositions. "This happy temperament not only sheds its benign influence over your social existence, but it has invested everything you have touched—your architecture, your literature, your history—with a most attractive individuality. Brilliancy, picturesqueness, dramatic force, chivalrous inspiration—these are the characteristics which have thrown over the early annals of Canada a glamour of romance, which attaches to the history of no other portion of the continent. . . ." "Your past has refused to die, or to efface itself. Its vitality was too exuberant, too rich, too splendid in achievements, too resonant, too brilliant, too replete with the daring and gallantry of stately seigniors—the creations of able statesmen—the martyrdom of holy men and women, to be smothered by the dust of ages, or overwhelmed by the uproar of subsequent events." [37] French Canada has furnished inspiration for Longfellow's *Evangeline,* for novels of Fenimore Cooper, for the superb work of Parkman. In our day Dr. Van Dyck found there material for some of his most beautiful pages.

There is the statement of Sir George W. Ross, a former Minister of Education for Ontario, prime minister of that province, and a member of the Federal Parliament: "Has the French Canadian proved his capacity for filling responsible positions under the Crown? Read the life of La Fontaine, of Morin, of Cartier, of Dorion, of Joly, of Laurier, as to the Dominion; and Chauveau, De Boucherville, Marchand, and Sir Lomer Gouin in the Quebec Legislature, and the answer will not be disappointing. In the House of Commons, in the Senate, in Spencerwood, in the Supreme Court, he has taken his place side by side with men of the

[36] G. Stewart, Jr., p. 422. [37] *Ibid.,* p. 650.

Saxon race, without any evidence of mental inequality or inferiority." [38] French Canadians have evolved a civilisation which led Matthew Arnold to say, "Quebec is the most interesting thing by much that I have seen on this continent." [39] John Morley expressed a similar opinion.[40] Surely these two great thinkers were not led to express such sentiments by the theology of French Canadians. Sir William Peterson, who, not in his relations with them but in his *Canadian Essays and Addresses,* looked at them in a distant, Gobineau-way, says that "they do not 'come of the blood.' They are of another stock," but he recognises that they "are well qualified to contribute to the common fund, elements that might otherwise be lacking, social grace and vivacity, artistic and literary culture and a spirit of happy contentment that furnishes a pleasing contrast to the rush of life on the American continent." [41] Is this a slight contribution to the best life of the Dominion?

The progress of Anglo-Canadian historiography has helped to bring into truer relief the character of Gallo-Canadians, and to throw light upon their history. Messrs. Shortt and Doughty of the Archives of Ottawa, have put numerous facts within the reach of students, and thereby helped a more optimistic interpretation of the annals of French Canada.[42] Principal George Monro Grant, with great sympathy and a rare, philosophical mind, ever did justice to French Canadians. Professor Charles W. Colby was one of the first to give brilliant generalisations upon the people of New France—generalisations that will endure —in his *Canadian Types of the Old Régime.* Showing a juster spirit among Canadians of the English speech is Dr. George Parmelee's survey of *English Education* in Que-

[38] Quoted from W. H. Moore, *The Clash,* p. 139.
[39] *Letters,* Vol. II, p. 308.
[40] *Recollections,* Vol. II, p. 108.
[41] *Canadian Essays and Addresses,* p. 52.
[42] *Documents relating to the Constitutional History of Canada,* 1759-1818.

bec, a work which we cannot sufficiently praise.[43] Professor Stephen Leacock published a fair study of *Baldwin, La Fontaine, Hinks,* in the *Makers of Canada* series, showing a clear understanding of French Canadian history, and, what is even better, a great sense of equity. Strong and eminently just are two monographs, one upon *British Rule to the Union*[44] and the other upon *The Civil Code and the Judicial System of Quebec,*[45] by Dean Walton. This last contribution is virtually an historical presentation of the subject already treated in his *Scope and Interpretation of the Civil Code* which does honour to the ability as well as to the impartiality of that distinguished jurist.

Obviously Anglo-Canadians have come to see their fellow-subjects of the French tongue from a truer angle. We leave aside the prolonged pleasantry of Dr. Drummond, and the outlandish gibberish of his habitants, which has gone by the absurd name of French Canadian dialect. It is with delight that we turn to Mr. Henry Beckles Willsons's *Quebec: the Laurentian Province,* a fascinating work of observation and candour, clinging to reality and written with the charm of a captivating novel. Soon after Mr. John Castell Hopkins published his *French Canada and the St. Lawrence,* the work of an idealist, of an eminent student of contemporary Canadian history, who gives a beautiful and truthful picture of French Canada, with a large religious and theistic background, which at times contrasts with parts of his *Progress of Canada in the Century.* These two books, which present French Quebeckers in an atmosphere of truth and kindness, should be read by all.

The *Sir George Etienne Cartier, Bart. His Life and Times* by John Boyd has also the new spirit. *The Clash* of W. H. Moore is a fine analytical study of French Canada,

[43] Reprinted from *Canada and Its Provinces,* Vol. XVI, p. 445.
[44] *Canada and Its Provinces,* Vol. III, p. 3.
[45] *Ibid.,* Vol. XV, p. 253.

rich in historical inductions, laying stress upon the Ontarian action in reference to French schools; at the same time pointing out the great worth of the French as a factor of Canadian life. Taking his stand upon a broad sociological ground and swayed by the purest British liberalism, he demonstrates that the Upper Canadian opponents of the French had broken away from the best British traditions and ideals. The book has excited the greatest interest. *The Birthright* of Mr. Arthur Hawkes, protesting against an imperialism which ignores the fundamental rights of Canada with an earnestness that is refreshing, rises above a narrow Toryism, and incidentally brings out, simply, candidly, the worth of the men of Quebec. The book of M. Percival Tellman Morley, *The Bridging of the Chasm*, does credit to the mind and heart of the author. It is a noble plea for a fairer and kinder treatment of the French. The recent work of Dr. Oscar Douglas Skelton, *Life and Letters of Sir Wilfrid Laurier*, is at once a biography of the great Canadian statesman, and a political history of the country which will do much to foster a good mutual understanding of the two great divisions of Canadians, and will help foreigners to grasp their true history. This work, with its large outlook and its objectivity, is a noble homage to the greatest of French Canadians. All these books are indices of a new attitude on the part of the sons of the conquerors and of a new spirit.

Time and creative energy, helped by wider economic relations, by larger international contacts, and by the fuller play of a more intense life, will produce no fusion, but will increase the ties joining the two peoples, on the basis of complete equality and political freedom. As to the French Canadians, their civilisation on the material side may have made fewer gains than that of their fellow-subjects, but it has suffered fewer losses of valuable virtues. Everything in their history points to a steady—now more and more

rapid—march onward. If the essence of national life means movement, growth, natural expansion, increasing wealth, great endeavours for education, culture, art, philanthropy, the broadening of man as a social unit, the greater adaptive flexibility of the social instinct, the strenuous steadying power of religious beliefs, the gradual cumulative progress of the people, then the evolution of French Canada must be pronounced remarkable.

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